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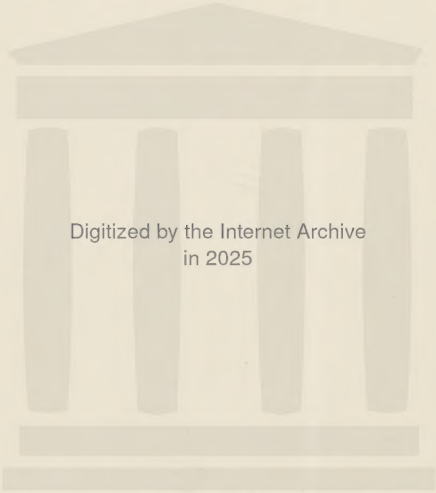

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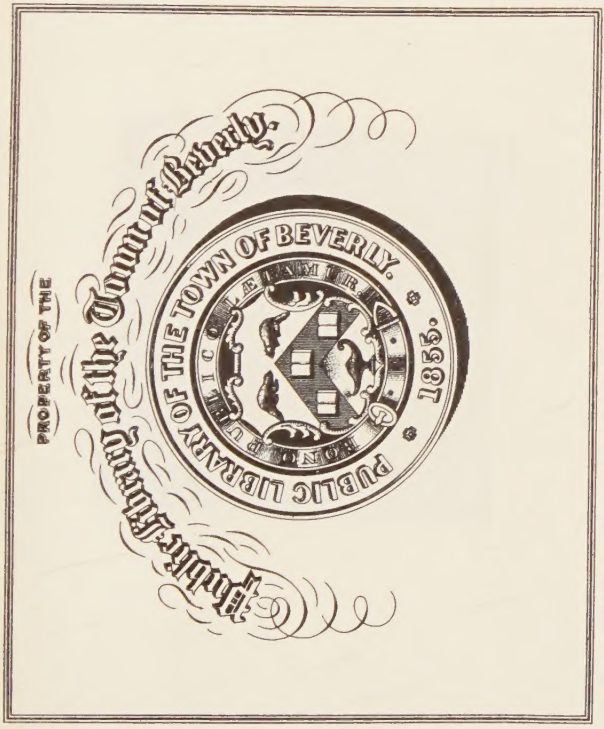
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View of the Town and
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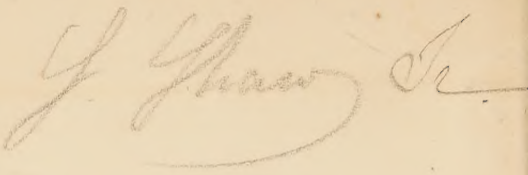

GUIDE TO PLYMOUTH,

Benjamin S. Shaw

AND

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE PILGRIMS.

BY

WILLIAM S. RUSSELL.

'Come listen to my story,
Though often told before,
Of men who pass'd to glory,
Through toil and trial sore;
Of men who did for conscience' sake,
Their native land forego,
And sought a home and freedom here
Two hundred years ago.'

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE AUTHOR, BY
GEORGE COOLIDGE,
130 Washington Street.
1846.

William Shaw Russell was my own
Cousin. His mother was Experience
Shaw, own sister to my Mother.

V. A. S. Shaw

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1846, by

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Helen Southworth Shaw.
From her Grandmother
Abby A. S. Shaw.
February 16th 1882

PREFACE.

The Guide to Plymouth and Recollections of the Pilgrims is respectfully submitted to the public, and is designed to present, in a volume of convenient size, such historical facts connected with our early history, and descriptions of interesting localities with which they are connected, as are deemed of essential importance to the numerous visitors, who resort to the spot rendered memorable as the scene where the foundations of empire were first laid, and the principles of religious and civil liberty were successfully established in New England.

Much of novelty can hardly be expected in relation to subjects which have engaged the attention and careful research of so many distinguished visitors. The author of the present work therefore, if he may hope to secure the public favor in behalf of the humble labors he has ventured to undertake, is not unconscious, that he must mainly rely upon the earnestness and diligence with which he has sought to present the subjects considered, in a form rendering them easily accessible to all inquirers after interesting memorials of the pilgrims.

In preparing this work for publication, the various histories of New England have been attentively consulted, and the Old Colony records have supplied much which is believed to possess strong attractions to public curiosity.

The earlier histories, particularly those of Bradford, Winslow, and Morton, written, as they were, by able and conscientious men, prominently concerned in most of the occurrences, which they record, seemed to deserve the first and highest regard. The best illustrations of these early writers, obtained from various sources, and applied with careful discrimination, it is hoped will render the

main facts and events connected with the pilgrims, intelligible to every reader.

No traditionary statements have been introduced into the work which do not rest upon substantial grounds, deemed equally entitled to credit with those of historical records.

Although this volume has been extended to more than one hundred pages beyond the limits originally assigned to it, many readers will doubtless find it insufficient to gratify their curiosity in relation to the subjects of which it treats. Such readers may find the means of more extended information on reference to the New England Memorial, edited by Judge Davis — Winthrop's History of New England, by James Savage — Holmes' Annals of America — Bancroft's History of the United States — The publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society — Baylies' Memoir of the Old Colony — Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims — Judge Mitchell's History of Bridgewater — and Deane's History of Scituate.

Genealogical tables of the Pilgrims have been carefully prepared to a considerable extent, a few only of which could be admitted into the present work, but which, if deemed sufficiently interesting to justify the undertaking, may hereafter appear in a different form.

The quotations from other works are designated as they occur in the following pages; but the subscriber would gratefully acknowledge not only the encouragement afforded to the plan and object of this work, by many valued friends, some of whom have been concerned in similar labors, but also for valuable suggestions and important information imparted during the progress of its accomplishment.

WILLIAM S. RUSSELL.

Plymouth, Massachusetts, October, 1846.

INTRODUCTORY LINES.

NOTE. The Introductory Lines are designed to form a general outline of the work, and briefly to describe the most interesting localities rendered memorable by their early and intimate connection with the pilgrims, and some of the thoughts which a view of these localities naturally suggests to every thoughtful mind. Under the successive heads of this work, observing the following order, namely: Forefathers' Rock, Leyden Street, Burying Hill, Captain's Hill, Clark's Island, Watson's Hill, and Friendly Indians; the reader will find a more particular description of the places to which specific allusion is made in the Introductory Lines, and such traditionary or historical facts respecting them, as have come to our knowledge.

IN memory of our Pilgrim Sires,
This volume reverently aspires,
To guide the steps of those who trace,
Mementos of that noble race,
Who by the love of Freedom led,
First landed on the soil we tread.
Their *daring* and their *faith* sublime,
Are themes that through all coming time
Should our admiring plaudits raise,
And be embalmed in grateful praise.
By heartless Bigots basely spurned,
From Tyrant power resolved they turned,
And sought in western wilds to meet,
Some spot to rest their weary feet,
Some spot to rear their house of prayer,
Beyond the *mitre's* angry glare,
To fix the reign of *conscience free*,
Despite of *Rome's* imperial *See*,

That *Church* and *State* no more combined,
With iron grasp the soul should bind,
Where Freedom winged might raptured roam,
And find at last her genial home.
No beacon gleamed from friendly height
To cheer for them the dreary night,
Or warn from latent reefs and sands,
That hide destruction on our strands;
No summer's sky nor genial breeze,
No verdant fields nor blooming trees,
In beauty clothed the prospect round,
All lay in frosted armour bound;
No friends approached the water's edge,
To press the kind, the welcome pledge,
On them no eye with pleasure gazed,
For them no sparkling fire-side blazed,
Around they cast the anxious eye
Some sheltering covert to descry,
The tender children near them stand,
And grasp the Father's helping hand,
The mother spreads her circling arms,
To shield her charge from threatening harms;
While tempered age with labored thought,
And youthful arm with vigor fraught,
Combined the strength and saving power,
To meet that dark and fearful hour.

Sons of the Pilgrims, well ye may
High honors to your Fathers pay,
With rapture on their memory dwell,
And to your sons the story tell,
Of patient toils and dangers braved,
How God of old from danger saved,
Made savage hearts with kindness glow,
And filled with dread the daring foe,
Their wants supplied, and strength renewed,

With faith and hope their minds imbued,
Patient and calm their lot to bear,
Through Winter's cold and stinted fare.
And shielded long this matchless band,
To found an Empire in our land.

We'll seek the Rock, which first they trod,
Where round they knelt to worship God,
Whose guardian care had been their stay,
O'er ocean's rough, tempestuous way.

The murmuring Brook, whose waters sweet,
Induced them near to fix their seat,
Whose gushing banks the springs afford,
That eked along their scanty board;
There first was heard the cheerful strain
Of axe and hammer, saw and plane,
Around their humble roofs appeared,
Through wasting care and labor reared.
And when the Evening's twilight hour
O'er nature held her dusky power,
Or gathering night with sterner reign,
Its mantle cast on hill and plain,
The watchful mother bent in prayer,
That God her infant charge would spare,
Lest savage foes with war-hoop wild,
Should come to wake her sleeping child,
Or fire the cot at midnight drear,
* When no strong arm of aid was near.
That prayer of faith and hope divine
That rose from nature's purest shrine,
Was heard by *Him* who never sleeps,
But trusting souls forever keeps.

* It is remarkable that no attack was made on Plymouth by the natives till the time of Philip's War in 1776.

Here slowly waned the weary hour,
When death assumed his ghastly power,
And *White* and *Mullins* stricken down,
Exchanged the Earth for Heaven's bright crown,
And *Carver* summoned from the fields,
His precious life untimely yields,
While fathers, mothers, children pine,
And dearest hopes and loves resign.
How sadly winds the funeral train,
With feeble step across the plain;
What anguish wrings affection's breast,
That gave the *Pilgrim* to his rest;
No requiem his but ocean's roar,
That broke in moans along the shore,
Or storms and waves that madly sweep
While gushing hearts in sorrow weep.
The *Mayflower* loosed her flapping sail,
Once more to woo the friendly gale,
Her boat more briskly glides around,
Cheered on by thoughts of *homeward* bound,
Parts from the shore through rippling waves
Seen from the *height* of recent graves;
But yet, no *Pilgrim* of the band
Would quit his *consecrated* land,
Though famine pressed, and dire disease
Lurked in the spring's returning breeze,
* And echo loud through forest rung,
With curses deep upon her tongue,
While danger stalked with flashing eye
To rouse the war-hoop's fearful cry,
His cherished hope and faith sublime,
Triumphant glowed in every clime.

* In allusion to the fact related by Morton, in his Memorial, that soon after the arrival of the pilgrims, at Plymouth, the Indians, before they came to the English, with proffers of peace, collected all the *powaws* in the country, 'who for three days together, in a horrid and devilish manner, did curse and execrate them with their conjurations; which assembly and service they held in a dark and dismal swamp.'

The mount from whence the bulwarks rose,
To guard their homes from threatening foes,
There blush the morning's earliest beams,
And sunset's mildly parting gleams,
Far off is heard the ocean's roar,
That once the 'germ of Empire' bore,
Of honored names to Freedom dear,
All passing time shall still revere,
As bravely on the *Mayflower* came,
And caught the breeze of endless fame.

Gazing from where the Fathers sleep,
Along the wide expansive deep,
We trace the *mount* which gently soars,
Above the sea and circling shores,
Where Standish, first of martial name,
Who dauntless won heroic fame,
Skillful and brave to guide the band,
Which firm achieved this chosen land;
Was wont to gaze on every side,
And scan the sail of every tide,
That timely thought and watchful care,
For coming danger might prepare,
Prompt welcome give to friendly sail,
As borne by some propitious gale,
Or aid impart to stranger lost,
When on the main by tempest tost.
The ocean heaves its rolling tide,
Along that mount's projecting side.
Above, his home and grave are seen,
With laurels crowned forever green.
Full many a step will thither roam,
And thoughtful linger round that home.

The modest Isle of yonder Bay,
Screened from the rougher blasts and spray,

There long by storm and billow driven,
With mast and sail to fragments riven,
The wanderers sought its welcome shore,
And safe their struggling shallop moore,
There watchful met the earliest dawn,
Which first revealed the Sabbath morn,
That prayer and praise might o'er the deep,
Harmonious strains in concert keep.
New England's pristine Sabbath Day
On Time's dark flood has passed away,
The *Pilgrim* chant is heard no more,
That echoed once upon that shore,
And hushed the lips whose accents gave
Their grateful notes to wind and wave;
But still the Sabbath's cheerful hours
Shall claim and bless our noblest powers,
And wing our thoughts to scenes divine,
Where faith and hope no more decline.

The rising Hill, upon whose brow,
Was first exchanged the solemn vow,
When Massassoit the Indian Chief,
So promptly tendered kind relief,
And by whose early proffered aid
A lasting peace was firmly laid.
While Carver, Winslow, Bradford stand,
Time honored Fathers of our land,
This Chieftain too shall homage claim,
Of praise far more than princely fame,
True-hearted, gentle, kind and brave,
Unfading honor crowns his grave.

The path through which Samoset came,
And boldly welcomed them by name,
Whose practised skill and counsel sage,
Inscribed appear on history's page,

That tells his worth and friendship true,
And yields the praise so justly due,
His comely form and features stand
Portrayed by Sargent's tasteful hand,
Beside the Groupe of exiled name,
Who pressed the *Rock* of endless fame.
Nor may the just impartial muse
To other names its meed refuse,
Nor thoughtless walk o'er *Squanto's* grave,
Or Hobbomoch's, the Indian *Brave.**
Nor yet withold the debt we owe,
The *courteous* Sachem Ianough,
While *Aspinet* of *Nauset* kind,
Should equal favor, grateful find,
These in their spheres rich service lent,
And lives of upright purpose spent,
Though born and trained to savage life,
They quenched the sparks of kindling strife,
Our Fathers loved in ancient days,
And well deserve the children's praise.

Ah who shall not their fate deplore,
That ranged of old along our shore;
The white man now assumes the place,
Where dwelt that swift declining race,
His gallant Bark in triumph rides,
Her swelling sails usurp the tides,
Where Indian here with light canoe,
No longer skims the waters through,
Nor idly basks on hillock green,
Whence teeming flood and wave are seen;
His arrows, plied with sturdy arm,
The bounding deer no more alarm,

* Called by Gov. Winslow a *pinese*, a chief counsellor, or Captain of Massassoit, and a firm friend of the Pilgrims till his death, about the year 1642.

His kindling fires that flamed by night,
No hand again shall ever light,
His day of song and dance and glee,
Is hushed in dark oblivion's sea,
Nor bard of his with glowing lays,
His deeds shall sound or swell his praise,
Nor pillared tablet ever tell
The day he rose or *sadly* fell.

The ardent sons of Freedom's cause,
Of holy Truth and righteous laws,
Who scorn the Bigot's fiery rule,
But bred in *Robinsonian* school,
Unshackeled conscience dare maintain,
At highest cost of toil and pain,
Will oft the Pilgrim page explore,
That spread its leaves on Plymouth shore,
Fresh impulse find where peril leads,
To worthy acts and glorious deeds.

As o'er their tombs we reverent tread,
And call to mind the honored dead,
While Fancy sheds her pensive hues,
And Time's dim track still lingering views,
O may we catch the sacred flame
Which hallows yet their glorious fame,
So walk with God while here on earth,
That we may gain their heavenly birth,
And meet at last the sainted throng
To join in one eternal song.

GUIDE TO PLYMOUTH,

AND

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE PILGRIMS.

CHAPTER I.

A brief Historical account of the Pilgrims previous to their removal from England to Holland.

O 'twas no earth-born passion,
That bade the adventurers stray,
The world and all its fashion,
With them had passed away. *Flint.*

In presenting a brief historical sketch of the Pilgrim Fathers, previous to their removal to Holland in the year 1607 and 8, our attention is naturally directed to a consideration of the causes, which induced them to relinquish their native country, under circumstances of difficulty, privation and danger, rarely if ever encountered, for objects so noble in their character, and successful in their accomplishment, so transcendent in their results.

In adverting to these causes, we perceive that History reveals to our observation, the founders of

New England not only acting in close theoretica harmony with the great principles of the Reformation which under the fearless auspices of Luther, had ex erted a powerful influence over the christian world but among the most practical and efficient instrument in the promotion of their progress both at home an abroad.

The Reformation at this period, though bright an cheering, when contrasted with the gross darkness which for ages had overspread the spiritual concern of mankind, had been with respect to England, com paratively slow in its progress; while on the Conti nent a long and ardent contest between the mos accomplished scholars and divines, resulted in so fa limiting the accustomed bigotry of the age, as to se cure an asylum to the persecuted fugitives of othe nations.

Henry the Eighth, whose zeal against the move ments and doctrines of Luther, had won from th Pope of Rome, the title of defender of the faith, unde the influence of passions, regulated by no sense o moral or religious principle, summarily severed th bond of papal supremacy, which for ages had hel the English nation within its imperious grasp; afford ing a striking example of not unfrequent occurrenc in the history of mankind, in which providence con verts the purposes of human depravity into the suc cessful instrumentality of promoting the advancemen of truth.

Frustrated in the accomplishment of a negotiation

having for its object the gratification of the most licentious passions, he seized upon the Church revenues, previously deemed sacred by his subjects, and which from time immemorial had constituted the unfailing fund, by which the ingenious machinery of Papal imposition was sustained and extended throughout the world. Measures of this character, though productive of no immediate consequences favorable to liberty of conscience, so far as it depended upon the will of this unscrupulous and arbitrary monarch, tended to impair the blind veneration with which popular feeling had long regarded the mandates of Roman Catholic authority, while the diversion of large revenues from their accustomed channels of application, diminished its local influence. These causes, in conjunction with the advancing spirit of the age, prepared the way for important changes, both as respects doctrines and ceremonies under the reign of Edward the Sixth, whose early promise and premature death, have so often excited the admiration and the sympathy of mankind.

'With reference to this period,' says Bancroft, 'so far was the freedom of private enquiry from being recognized as a right, the means of forming a judgment on religious subjects was denied. The act of supremacy which severed the English nation from the Roman See, contained no clause favorable to religious liberty. It was but a vindication of the sovereign franchise of the English monarch against foreign interference — it did not aim to enfranchise the

English nation. The King of England became the Pope in his own dominions, and heresy was still accounted the greatest of all crimes. All the Catholic doctrines were asserted, except the Supremacy of Rome.'

The accession of Edward the Sixth, in fifteen hundred and forty-seven, afforded far greater security to Protestants, than had been previously enjoyed, and the English Church was established by the authority of Parliament, upon a basis, not essentially different from that which it maintains at the present day. It still preserved, however, the union of Church and State unimpaired; a feature of the ancient system, justly regarded by the Puritans, as tending to pervert the purity of christian faith and morality; and to encourage an indolent, slavish dependence upon the fallible dictation of man; instead of that earnest investigation of divine revelation, which, while it reverently invokes the source of all light for its guidance, enlists the purest affections and the highest powers of our nature, and conducts the thirsting soul to fountains of living water, springing into everlasting life.

But whatever had been gained in the progress of Reformation, during the brief reign of Edward, seemed destined to be lost, under the iron sway of his successor Mary; when the kindling faggots of Smithfield blazed amidst the dying agonies of the Martyrs to conscience, sacrificed to her vindictive temper and unrelenting bigotry; the familiar and summary process, by which the Church of Rome has checked the

growth of true freedom in the human mind, leaving no alternative to the pure and conscientious, but entire submission to its mandates, or the possible security of life by instant flight from its power.

The succeeding reign of Elizabeth, commencing in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-eight, afforded some cessation of the violent persecutions of her predecessor, and the promise of relief to the sufferers, for conscience' sake, who had fled to the continent for safety, and encouraged them to return, from their respective places of exile. But their cherished expectations were doomed to cruel disappointment both under the reign of Elizabeth, and that of her successor, James the First; the act of Supremacy was renewed, with accumulated penalties, and enforced with rigorous severity, totally inconsistent with every just principle of toleration, and compelled the conscientious adherents of truth to struggle onward, with a pertinacity which feared no danger, and heeded no consequences, till their perseverance at length achieved its reward, producing changes, both in Church and State, deeply affecting the social order of the whole community.

It was at the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign in the year sixteen hundred and two — a period of ardent excitement in relation to all the great objects of human pursuit; when the progressive influence of the Reformation, earnestly engaged the attention of every thoughtful mind — when the newly discovered art of printing facilitated the dissemination of knowledge, and new discoveries by successive navigators, pre-

sented a wide field of commercial enterprise; that we first trace our Pilgrim Fathers, in the north of England, manfully contending against the principalities and powers which denied them 'the liberty wherewith Christ had made them free.'

Though few in numbers, their strong faith, earnest zeal and fervent love, created a bond of union, and an intensity of purpose, which never deserted them throughout their perilous enterprise; whether hunted at home by the minions of hierarchal oppression, exposed to the perilous changes of the ocean, seeking a precarious subsistence in a strange land, or exploring the bleak shores of Cape Cod, amidst the rough blasts of a cheerless winter.

Under the pastoral charge of the learned and accomplished John Robinson, assisted and sustained by the fervent piety and steadfast zeal of Elder Brewster, whose meekness of spirit and gentle demeanor, might have justly enrolled his name in connection with that of the 'beloved disciple' himself; they formed a just conception of that kingdom which is not of this world. Guided by the plain declarations of the treasured word of God, they quickly discerned the wide difference existing between the simplicity of apostolic times, and the gorgeous parade of Popery, which, while it claimed to control the conscience and the purse, denied the free use of the Bible, and made no provision for the dissemination of that knowledge, for lack of which, the people were destroyed.

They perceived the force of a truth eloquently expressed by a distinguished writer of modern times,* 'that as the hostility of heathenism in its direct endeavor to extirpate the christian religion became entirely hopeless in the realms of the Roman Empire, there was a great change of the policy of evil; and all manner of reprobate things, heathenism among them, rushed as by general consent into treacherous conjunction with Christianity, retaining their own quality under the sacredness of its name, and by a rapid progress inducing it to surrender every thing distinctive of it, but that dishonored name.'

To the Pilgrims therefore, belongs the high and glorious distinction of achieving the last step in the long process of Religious Reformation, by asserting and maintaining the separate independence of each Church.† 'This step had a short time before been attempted by Robert Brown, 'an individual of no very commendable qualities,' whose character was such 'as to throw no little discouragement upon the cause; nor did it acquire firmness till espoused by Robinson, who may be called the Father of the *Independent* Churches. His own at Leyden was one of these, and fidelity to their principles was the chief motive of their departure from Holland and the occasion of their settlement at Plymouth.'

'‡ Of the motives which influenced the first settlers to a voluntary exile, induced them to relinquish their

* John Foster. † Everett's Oration, Dec. 22, 1824.
‡ Webster's Centennial Discourse, Dec. 22, 1820.

native country and to seek an asylum in this then unexplored wilderness, the first and principal no doubt were connected with Religion. They sought to enjoy a higher degree of Religious Freedom, and what they esteemed a purer form of Religious worship, than was allowed to their choice or presented to their imitation in the Old World. It is certain that though many of them were republicans in principle, we have no evidence that our New England ancestors would have emigrated as they did, become wanderers in Europe, and finally undertake the establishment of a Colony here, merely from a dislike of the political systems of Europe. They fled not so much from the civil government as from the Hierarchy and the laws which enforced conformity to the Church establishment.'

These facts and considerations, connected with the early struggles of the Pilgrims, in support of the principles they had espoused, their patient endurance of the severest trials, and their devout acknowledgment of God's overruling providence, under every occurrence of their eventful experience, justly authorize the conclusion, that a deep sense of the supreme importance of divine Revelation, above every other object of human pursuit, reflected from the inmost depths of the Soul, was to them the cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night, guiding their footsteps to this Western World.

One of the most distinguished sons of the Pilgrims, referring to the principal epochs in the history of

mankind, which have decidedly accelerated the progress of civilization, after presenting a thorough exposition of the existing causes which must long obstruct the progress of Religious and Civil liberty in the old world, breaks forth in the following eloquent strain.

*'While therefore the work of social renovation is entirely hopeless in Europe, we cannot but regard it as the plain interposition of Providence, that at the central point of time, when the most powerful springs of improvement were in operation, a chosen company of pilgrims who were actuated by these springs of improvement came over to these distant unoccupied shores. I know not that the work of thorough reform could be safely trusted to other hands. I can credit their disinterestedness, when they maintain the equality of ranks. For no rich forfeitures of attainted lords await them in the wilderness. I need not question the sincerity with which they assert the right of conscience; for the plundered treasures of an ancient hierarchy are not to seal their doctrine. They rested the edifice of their civil and religious liberties on a foundation as pure and innocent as the snows around them.

'Blessed be the spot, the only one on earth, where such a foundation was ever laid.'

But the combined influence of the Throne and the Hierarchy, exerted in every odious form of exaction and annoyance, against nonconformity, exposed

* Everett's Oration, Dec. 22, 1824.

the pilgrims to the severest trials and rendered an adherence to principle, incompatible with their continued abode in England; and their attention was directed to some means of escape from the increasing difficulties which assailed them on every side. These difficulties are minutely recorded in that part of the History of Governor Bradford, inserted in the Church Records of Plymouth by Secretary Morton, author of the New England Memorial, from which the following extract is copied. 'But, after these things, they could not longer continue in any peaceable manner, but were hunted and persecuted on every side, so as their former afflictions were but as mole-hills to mountains in comparison to those which now come upon them. For some were taken and clapped up in prisons, others had their houses beset and watched night and day, and hardly escaped their hands; and the most were fain to fly and leave their houses and habitations, and the means of their livelihood. Yet these, and many other sharper things which afterwards befel them, were no other than they looked for, and therefore were the better prepared to bear them, by the assistance of God's grace and spirit. Yet seeing themselves thus molested, and that there was no hope of their continuance there, by a joint consent they resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard was freedom of religion for all men, as also sundry from London and other parts of the land, that had been exiled and persecuted

for the same cause, were gone thither, and lived in Amsterdam and in other places of the land.

'So after they had continued together about a year, and kept their meetings every Sabbath in one place or another, exercising the worship of God among themselves, notwithstanding all the diligence and malice of their adversaries, they seeing they could no longer continue in that condition, they resolved to get over into Holland, as they could, which was in the year 1607 and 1608; of which more in that which followeth.'

NOTE. Gov. Bradford wrote a history of the pilgrims, from the year 1602 to 1647, containing 270 pages, which was used by Morton and Hutchinson in their histories and Prince in his chronology of New England. This work of Gov. Bradford, in manuscript, was deposited, with other valuable documents, in the Tower of the Old South Church in the City of Boston, and was lost during the Revolution, when that church was occupied by the British troops. That part of the work above referred to, contained in the Church Records of Plymouth, has been accurately copied and published with copious notes, by the Rev. Dr. Young in his Chronicles of the Pilgrims.

CHAPTER II.

'When Tyranny bigotry's banners upreared,
These fathers for conscience, for freedom, self-banished,
Confiding in Heaven, o'er the wild billow steered,
And in Holland found refuge while bigotry vanished.'

Departure of the Pilgrims for Holland — Their arrival at Amsterdam.

HAVING in the preceding Chapter, in as brief a manner as seemed practicable, stated the principal circumstances and causes which induced the pilgrims to quit their native country — we proceed to describe the difficulties encountered and the sacrifices incurred, in the final accomplishment of their purpose. We recur again to the interesting history of Gov. Bradford, the simplicity and truthfulness of whose narration, urge a stronger claim upon our regard from the fact of his active and prominent participation in the events he relates and the scenes he describes.

'Being thus constrained to leave their native country, their lands and livings, and all their familiar acquaintance, it was much, and thought marvellous by many. But to go into a country they knew not, but by hearsay, where they must learn a new language, and

get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear place and subject to the miseries of war, it was by many thought an adventure almost desperate, a case intolerable, and a misery worse than death; especially considering they were not acquainted with trades nor traffic, (by which the country doth subsist,) but had only been used to a plain country life, and the innocent trade of husbandry. But these things did not dismay them (although they did sometimes trouble them,) for their desires were set on the ways of God, and to enjoy his ordinances. But they rested on his providence and knew whom they had believed. Yet this was not all. For although they could not stay they were not suffered to go; but the ports and havens were shut against them, so as they were fain to seek secret means of conveyance, and to fee the mariners, and give extraordinary rates for their passage. And yet were they often times betrayed, many of them, and both they and their goods intercepted and surprised, and thereby put to great trouble and charge; of which I will give an instance or two, and omit the rest.

'There was a great company of them purposed to get passage at Boston, in Lincolnshire; and for that end had hired a ship wholly to themselves, and made agreement with the master to be ready at a certain day, and take them and their goods in at a convenient place, where they accordingly would all attend in readiness. So after long waiting and large expenses, though he kept not the day with them, yet he came

at length, and took them in, in the night. And when he had them and their goods aboard, he betrayed them, having beforehand complotted with the searchers and other officers so to do; who took them and put them into open boats, and there rifled and ransacked them, searching them to their shirts for money, yea, even the women, further than became modesty; and then carried them back into the town, and made them a spectacle and wonderment to the multitude, which came flocking on all sides to behold them. Being thus by the catchpole officers rifled and stripped of their money, books, and much other goods, they were presented to the magistrates, and messengers sent to inform the Lords of the Council of them; and so they were committed to ward. Indeed, the magistrates used them courteously, and showed them what favor they could; but could not deliver them until order came from the Council table. But the issue was, that after a month's imprisonment the greatest part were dismissed, and sent to the places from whence they came; but some* of the principal men were still kept in prison, and bound over to the assizes.

'The next spring after, there was another attempt made, by some of these and others, to get over at another place; and it so fell out that they lighted of a

* In a memoir of Elder Brewster, contained in the Church Records of Plymouth, written by Gov. Bradford, it is stated, that 'Elder Brewster was the chief of those that were taken at Bos'on in Lincolnshire, and suffered the greatest loss, and one of the seven that were kept longest in prison and after bound over to the Assizes.'

Dutchman at Hull, having a ship of his own belonging to Zealand. They made agreement with him, and acquainted him with their condition, hoping to find more faithfulness in him than in the former, of their own nation. He bade them not fear; for he would do well enough. He was by appointment to take them in between Grimsby and Hull, where was a large common, a good way distant from any town. Now against the prefixed time, the women and children, with the goods, were sent to the place in a small bark, which they had hired for that end, and the men were to meet them by land. But it so fell out that they were there a day before the ship came; and the sea being rough, and the women very sick, prevailed with the seamen to put into a creek hard by, where they lay on ground at low water. The next morning the ship came; but they were fast, and could not stir until about noon. In the mean time, the shipmaster, perceiving how the matter was, sent his boat to be getting the men aboard, whom he saw walking about the shore. But after the first boat-full was got aboard, and she was ready to go for more, the master espied a great company, both horse and foot, with bills and guns and other weapons; for the country was raised to take them. The Dutchman seeing that, swore his country's oath, ('sacrament') and having the wind fair, weighed his anchor, hoisted sails, and away.

'But the poor men which were got on board were in great distress for their wives and children, which they saw thus to be taken, and were left destitute of their helps, and themselves also not having a cloth to shift

them with, more than they had on their backs, and some scarce a penny about them, all they had being on board the bark. It drew tears from their eyes, and any thing they had they would have given to have been on shore again. But all in vain; there was no remedy; they must thus sadly part; and afterwards endured a fearful storm at sea, being fourteen days or more before they arrived at their port; in seven whereof they neither saw sun, moon, nor stars, and were driven to the coast of Norway; the mariners themselves often despairing of life, and once with shrieks and cries gave over all, as if the ship had been foundered in the sea, and they sinking without recovery. But when man's hope and help wholly failed, the Lord's power and mercy appeared for their recovery; for the ship rose again, and gave the mariner's courage again to manage her; and if modesty would suffer me, I might declare with what fervent prayers they cried unto the Lord in this great distress, especially some of them, even without any great distraction. When the water ran into their very ears and mouths, and the mariners cried out, 'We sink, we sink,' they cried, if not with miraculous, yet with a great height of divine faith, 'Yet, Lord, thou canst save; yet, Lord, thou canst save:' with such other expressions as I will forbear. Upon which the ship did not only recover, but shortly after the violence of the storm began to abate, and the Lord filled their afflicted minds with such comforts as every one cannot understand, and in the end brought them to their desired haven; where the people came flocking, admiring their deliv-

crance, the storm having been so long and sore, in which much hurt had been done, as the master's friends had related unto him in their congratulations.

'But to return to the others where we left. The rest of the men that were in the greatest danger made shift to escape away before the troop could surprise them, those only staying that best might, to be assistant to the women. But pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in this distress; what weeping and crying on every side; some for their husbands that were carried away in the ship, as it was before related; others not knowing what should become of them and their little ones; others melted in tears, seeing their poor little ones hanging about them, crying for fear and quaking with cold. Being thus apprehended, they were hurried from one place to another, and from one justice to another, until, in the end, they knew not what to do with them. For to imprison so many women and innocent children for no other cause, many of them, but that they would go with their husbands, seemed to be unreasonable, and all would cry out of them; and to send them home again was as difficult, for they alleged (as the truth was) they had no homes to go to, for they had sold or otherwise disposed of their houses and livings. To be short, after they had been thus turmoiled a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they were glad to be rid of them in the end upon any terms, for all were wearied and tired with them; though, in the mean time, the poor souls endured mis-

ery enough; and thus in the end necessity forced a way for them.

'But that I be not tedious in these things, I will omit the rest, although I might relate other notable passages and troubles which they endured and underwent in these their wanderings and travels, both at land and sea. But I haste to other things. Yet I may not omit the fruit that came hereby. For by these so public troubles in so many eminent places their cause became famous, and occasioned many to look into the same; and their godly carriage and christian behavior was such as left a deep impression in the minds of many. And though some few shrunk at those first conflicts and sharp beginnings, (as it was no marvel,) yet many more came on with fresh courage, and greatly animated others; and in the end, notwithstanding all these storms of opposition, they all got over at length, some at one time and some at another, and met together again, according to their desires, with no small rejoicing.'

We close the present chapter, by presenting to the reader, the following deeply interesting sketch of the embarcation of our Fathers from England for Holland.

*'The embarcation of the Pilgrims for Holland, is deeply interesting from its circumstances, and also as it marks the character of the times, independently of its connection with names, now incorporated with the history of empire.

'An unfrequented and barren heath on the shores

* Webster's Centennial address, Dec. 22, 1820.

of Lincolnshire was the selected spot, where the feet of the Pilgrims, were to tread for the last time, the land of their fathers.

'As this scene passes before us, we can hardly forbear asking, whether this be a band of malefactors and felons flying from justice? What are their crimes, that they hide themselves in darkness? To what punishment are they exposed, that to avoid it, men, and women and children, thus encounter the surf of the north sea, and the terrors of a night storm? What induces this armed pursuit, and this arrest of fugitives, of all ages and both sexes? Truth does not allow us to answer these enquiries, in a manner that does credit to the wisdom or the justice of the times. This was not the flight of guilt, but of virtue. It was an humble and peaceable religion, flying from causeless oppression. It was conscience, attempting to escape from the arbitrary rule of the Stuarts. It was Robinson, and Brewster, leading off their little band from their native soil, at first to find shelter on the shores of the neighboring continent, but ultimately to come hither; and having surmounted all difficulties, and braved a thousand dangers, to find here a place of refuge and rest. Thanks be to God, that this spot was honored as the asylum of religious liberty. May its standard, reared here, remain forever! May it rise up as high as heaven, till its banner shall fan the air of both continents, and wave as a glorious ensign of peace and security to the Nations!'

CHAPTER III.

Residence of the Pilgrims in Holland — Thoughts of Removal from Leyden, and determination to embark for America.

The arduous work of removal from England to Holland had now been successfully accomplished by the Pilgrims, notwithstanding the cruel persecution, by which their progress had been retarded; a persecution which not merely hurled its furious blasts against the devoted puritan, whose powers of endurance had been strengthened by long and fearless opposition to unjust authority; but against women and children, whose defenceless condition might have excited the sympathy of barbarism itself, instead of inviting exposure, to the rude manners and rough treatment of hireling instruments, acting under the color of legal authority.* But they had found a city

*There is not one of the acts for which the fathers of New England were dragged from prison and exile, into which, at the same time, it was made as hard as possible for them to escape, for which a man at the present day, could be fined a shilling. And, however unimportant we may think some of the practices and ceremonies against which they waged their strenuous warfare, they are now generally admitted in Protestant countries to be rightful matters of private judgment, in which the state has no concern. That they are so admitted — that this great battle has been fought and won — is distinctly traceable to the resolution and courage of the Puritans.—*Everett's Remarks at Plymouth, Dec. 22, 1845.*

of refuge. Gladness once more illumined their path, and gratitude sought utterance in the recognition of divine protection, with emotions not less ardent, than those which inspired the song of Moses, and the timbrel of Miriam, when of old, the tribes of Israel found deliverance from the harsh yoke of Egyptian bondage.

Their situation and prospects however, presented innumerable difficulties. They had come to a strange land, the attachments of home had been rudely sundered, and the unintelligible sounds of a new language grated upon their ear. The pecuniary means of the more opulent among them, had been greatly impaired, by frequent imprisonment, heavy penalties and the unavoidable sacrifices occasioned by a sudden removal. Accustomed to the peaceful and retired pursuits of husbandry, they were compelled to engage in trades and other occupations peculiar to city life, to insure the means of future subsistence. In addition to these inconveniences, circumstances rendered it expedient to incur the expense of a removal from Amsterdam to Leyden,* after residing but a single

* Leyden, a celebrated city of Holland, being the fourth in the kingdom of the Netherlands on the Old Rhine, 21 miles S. W. of Amsterdam, and 10 miles north east of the Hague. It is said to have had, in 1659, 100 000 inhabitants. Perhaps this statement is exaggerated; but it is said by Busching, to have had in 1723, 10,891 houses, which at an avarage of seven individuals would give a population of about 77,000. Its population in 1837, exceeded 36,000. It is connected by Canals, with Haarlem, Delft, and the Hague. See McCulloch's Gazetteer.

year in the former city; * an exchange of residence in many respects, productive of serious detriment to their worldly interests.

But these various discouragements, soon yielded to the spirit of enterprise, the force of industry, and the sound moral principles by which they were governed, inspiring a just confidence among the strangers with whom they dwelt.

Not long before their departure for America, their peaceable and orderly conduct as men and citizens, obtained a voluntary and public testimonial of approbation from the magistrates of the city. The talents and learning of their Pastor, attracted the attention of the University of Leyden; his argumentative powers were publicly tested in a controversy of great theological interest, in which the most distinguished minds of the day were earnestly engaged; and his efforts

*Amsterdam, a famous maratime and commercial city of Holland, capital Prov., N. Holland, and of a district and canton of the same name on the south bank of the Y, an inlet or arm of the Zuyder Zee. The city is supposed to contain about 26,000 houses. In 1785 the population is said to have amounted to 235,000; at present, it amounts to about 207,000.

At the time the Pilgrims first entered this 'City of Refuge,' as it has very appropriately been called, its business was very extensive; its Bank was celebrated throughout Europe, affording the best facilities for mercantile exchanges throughout the world. The facilities for every kind of business were therefore greater at Amsterdam than Leyden, and the pilgrims would doubtless have remained, had not some difficulties existing in another English church there, led them to fear some entanglement, by which their spiritual relations might be injuriously affected.

upon that occasion, were highly appreciated by those, at whose solicitation, they were successfully exerted.

The condition of exiles, under the most favorable outward circumstances, involves sacrifices, connected with the associations of kindred and country, of which none perhaps can form an adequate conception, who have never experienced the peculiar trials of banishment. It was a painful reflection to the pilgrims, that a strange land might become the permanent inheritance of their posterity. The sentiments of true patriotism even under a deep sense of injustice, experienced from our native land, are not easily extinguished in the human mind, and as successive years passed away, bearing in their progress, no promise of essential improvement in their condition, the thoughts of removal excited their attention. These thoughts derived earnestness and strength from various considerations. The dissolute habits of city life prevailing around them, exposed their children to a contamination of morals, which the most vigilant parental care found it impossible wholly to counteract. The facilities to military enlistment, presented strong temptations to the young, and led them to a course of life repulsive to the principles of the pilgrims. The sabbath, an institution dear to their recollections, and the object of cherished veneration, was openly violated; and they yearned for a more quiet enjoyment of its sacred hours. 'Lastly, and not least,' in the words of Gov. Bradford, 'was a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way there-

unto for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ into these remote parts of the world, yea though they should be as but stepping stones unto others for performing so great a work.'

In addition to these considerations, the adventurous spirit of the age, doubtless contributed its share, to confirm our fathers in the resolution to remove, and in some degree diminished the apprehensions, naturally excited by so hazardous an undertaking.

These considerations having been duly weighed by the leading minds of the Church of Leyden, and laid before the whole body, after various discussions, the resolution of removal to America was finally adopted by the majority, not however, without many doubts and fears as to the eventual result of a measure, fraught with so much difficulty and danger.

It was their intention and final conclusion, to form a distinct body by themselves, under the general government of Virginia,† in the hope of securing from James the First, the toleration of religion, an

† The Virginia Company was established by letters patent from King James, dated April 10, 1606, and included a strip of land 100 miles along the eastern coast of North America, extending from the 34th to the 45th degree of north latitude. This territory bore the name of Virginia, which it originally received in honor of Queen Elizabeth. It was granted to two distinct companies, with a view to colonization. The first, or Southern Colony was granted to certain knights, gentlemen, merchants and adventurers of London, who were to colonize between the 34th and the 41st degrees. The second, or Northern Colony was granted to persons of like description in Bristol, Exeter and Plymouth, who were to plant between the 38th and the 45th degrees. Each company was to be under the government of a council

object always nearest their hearts, and which it had cost them so much to maintain. Two of their number, Robert Cushman and John Carver, were appointed in the year 1617, and dispatched to London for the purpose of negotiation with the Virginia Company, designed to secure a grant of territory, and at the same time to obtain, if possible, from the King, a promise of security for the rights of conscience.

These agents were subjected to many delays and impediments in accomplishing the object of their mission, and returned to Leyden in May 1618, with encouragement from the Virginia Company, in relation to a grant of territory and a promise on the part of James the First, 'that the King would connive at them, and not molest them, provided they carried peaceably.' But to allow or tolerate them under his seal, would not be granted. The connivance of the crown as respected toleration, may fairly be ascribed to the prevailing rivalship of colonization at that time existing among the sovereigns of Europe; and the

of 13, and neither was to plant a colony within a hundred miles of any previous settlement made by the other.

In the year 1620, November 3d, a new patent was signed by King James, whilst the pilgrims were on their passage. This patent incorporated the adventurers, the Duke of Lenox and others, between 40 and 48 degrees of north latitude. They were styled the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America, 'which is the great and civil basis,' says Prince, 'of all the future patents and plantations that divide this country.'

See Judge Davis' Edition of the N. E. Memorial, page 22, and Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, page 54.

profitable extension of empire, doubtless, reconciled King James to a reluctant concession, by which his subjects were barely permitted the unmolested liberty of worship in a savage wilderness, three thousand miles from the good city of London. The determination of James, to withhold absolute protection to the rights of conscience under his hand and seal produced great dissatisfaction among the church at Leyden, and many were disposed to abandon the enterprise, without securing conditions which they deemed of indispensable importance; but after ample discussion two other messengers were selected in the month of Feb., 1619, namely, Robert Cushman and Elder William Brewster,* to prosecute further negotiations with the Virginia Company, and secure a patent upon the best attainable conditions; and to engage with such merchants and other friends, as had previously expressed a willingness to embark in their intended enterprise. For effecting these objects, the agents were instructed, respecting the terms on which an arrangement should be made, and were to conclude nothing definitely, without further advice.

Under these instructions the agents proceeded to the performance of their duties, and, after many delays and discouragements, succeeded in obtaining a patent confirmed under the company's seal, which by the advice of friends was not taken out in the name of any in their own company, but in that of John Wine

* Not *Bradford* as stated in Prince and others. See Young's Chronicles.

cob, then belonging to the family of the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to join them, but from some cause was prevented. The Charter was never used, though procured by great labor and at much expense. This patent was sent to Leyden, for the consideration of all concerned, with several proposals for their transmigration, made by Mr. Thomas Weston, a London merchant, and such other merchants and friends as should adventure or go with them, and they were requested speedily to prepare for the voyage.

The conditions upon which the Pilgrims contracted with the Merchant Adventurers of London, as they were called, for their transportation to America, indicate the exhausted state of their pecuniary means, and would probably never have obtained their assent, under circumstances not imposed by absolute necessity. We place these conditions before the reader, that a just estimate may be formed of the 'hard terms,' upon which the emigration of our Fathers depended, which were as follows:

1. The adventurers and planters do agree, that every person that goeth, being sixteen years old and upward, be rated at ten pounds, and that ten pounds be accounted a single share.

2. That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth himself out with ten pounds, either in money or other provisions, be accounted as having twenty pounds in stock, and in the division shall receive a double share.

3. The persons transported and the adventurers shall continue their joint stock and partnership the

space of seven years, except some unexpected impediments do cause the whole Company to agree otherwise; during which time all profits and benefits that are gotten by trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means, of any other person or persons, shall remain still in the common stock until the division.

4. That at their coming there they shall choose out such a number of fit persons as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon the sea; employing the rest in their several faculties upon the land, as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the Colony.

5. That at the end of the seven years, the capital and the profits, viz. the houses, lands, goods, and chattels, be equally divided among the adventurers. If any debt or detriment concerning this adventure *

6. Whosoever cometh to the Colony hereafter, or putteth any thing into the stock, shall at the end of the seven years be allowed proportionally to the time of his so doing.

7. He that shall carry his wife, or children, or servants, shall be allowed for every person, now aged sixteen years and upward, a single share in the division; or if he provide them necessaries, a double share or if they be between ten years old and sixteen, then two of them to be reckoned for a person, both in transportation and division.

* Some additional article was probably intended to be inserted.

8. That such children that now go and are under the age of ten years, have no other share in the division than fifty acres of unmanured land.

9. That such persons as die before the seven years be expired, their executors to have their parts or share at the division, proportionably to the time of their life in the Colony.

10. That all such persons as are of the Colony are to have meat, drink, and apparel, and all provisions, out of the common stock and goods of the said Colony.

These conditions, as we have observed, were reluctantly assented to, on the part of those concerned in the enterprise of emigration, but Mr. Cushman, their principal agent, as Gov. Bradford observes, 'answered the complaints, that unless they so ordered the conditions, the whole design would have fallen to the ground, and necessity they said having no law, they were constrained to be silent.'

The foregoing articles of agreement between the adventurers and planters, which properly enough might be termed articles of Copartnership, contain no conditions upon which it should be inferred, that a community of goods in the proper sense of that phrase, was intended or existed among the pilgrims; and no just grounds appear for the hasty and inconsiderate opinions, assumed by several historians, that such was the fact. Those who engaged in the voyage, required the means of transportation to America, and capital to embark in trade upon their arrival.

The whole stock was divided into shares; stipulated sums were to be paid by those who did not personally adventure, as colonists — while those who did, with their families included, were to render their services at given rates, and to receive at the expiration of the seven years, their proportional profits. The alterations afterwards made by the planters, modifying, in some measure, the original agreement, were the result of unforeseen emergencies, arising soon after their arrival, and were in no respect detrimental to the general interest.

History affords but scanty information, as respects the Merchant Adventurers.* Most of them were doubtless influenced in their connection with the Pilgrims, by the hope of gain, while Shirly, Hatherly, Collier, Thomas, Beauchamp, and some others, were guided by far higher aims, in which the considerations of profit, had but a secondary place.

Arrangements were now concluded, and the best practicable preparations made for the long projected voyage. A small ship of sixty tons burthen was procured in Holland, to transport a part of their company

* The celebrated Capt. John Smith thus speaks of them, writing in 1624. 'The adventurers which raised the stock to begin and supply this plantation, were about seventy, some merchants, some handicrafts men, some adventuring great sums, some small, as their affection served. These dwelt most about London. They are not a corporation, but knit together by a voluntary combination in a society, without constraint or penalty, aiming to do good and plant religion.' The names of the adventurers, as they existed in 1626, will be found in Appendix A. of this work.

to America, and to remain there for the purpose of fishing, and such other services as the wants of the Colony might require, on their arrival at the place of destination.

Another ship called the Mayflower, of one hundred and eighty tons burthen, was chartered at London, and was ordered to Southampton,* at which place both vessels were to meet, and embark in company, for America.

* Southampton is a seaport and market town of England, being a County of itself in Hampshire, at the embouchere of the itchen, in an inlet of the sea called Southampton Sea, 70 miles W. S. W. of London. This place was the rendezvous of Winthrop's fleet, when preparing for the transportation of his Colony to Massachusetts Bay.

CHAPTER IV.

The Embarcation of the Pilgrims at Delft-Haven, July 22d, 1620.

'But lo! ordained by Heaven's decree,
The pilgrims raise their banner free,
Resolved from Leyden's exiled home,
In distant lands again to roam.

'The bark is moored and waiting rides,
Along Delft-haven's friendly tides,
And thither wend the young and old,
The stricken flock of Christ's blest fold.

'But sad the hour of parting grief,
That seeks in vain from earth relief,
What pen shall write, what tongue may tell,
The melting tones of that farewell.'

The embarcation from Delft-haven, designates a point of exciting interest in the history of the pilgrims, and whether we regard it as a striking development of the purest affections, and higher principles of our nature,or with reference to its general results on human affairs, possesses the strongest claims to attention, from the orator, poet and painter.

Holland, at this point of time, engrossed a large

share of the tonnage owned by all Europe,* and the preparations, for even a remote voyage of a vessel sixty tons burthen only, were not of unfrequent occurrence. Truth requires us not to confound the individuals concerned in this event among the ordinary adventurers of that time — but as influenced by motives of the highest order, as the honored instruments of opening a new theatre of human action — where freedom, exhausted in her conflicts with the corruption of accumulated ages, might break from the old world, and breathe the invigorating atmosphere of the new.

The parting scene at Leyden is thus described in Gov. Bradford's history, from which extracts have previously been made. 'So being ready to depart, they had a day of solemn humiliation, their pastor taking his text from Ezra the 8th, 21, upon which he spent a part of the day very profitably, and very suitably to their present occasion. The rest of the time was spent in pouring out prayers to the lord,

* 'Without entering into particulars, it is sufficient to state, as illustrative of the trade of Holland, that in 1670, when it had attained to a maximum, Sir William Petty estimated the whole shipping of Europe at 2,000 000 tons, of which he supposed the Dutch to possess 900,000 tons, and it is believed that this estimate was rather within, than beyond the mark.' — *McCulloch's Gazetteer, Edit.* 1843.

It is perhaps well deserving our attention, as illustrating the growth of commerce in *America*, that our present tonnage, exceeds that owned by *all Europe*, at the time of embarcation, when our rivers, bays and oceans, possessed no better means of water communication, than a birch canoe, or by way of improvement, a log of the larger class, dug out, with much labor, by some Indian *shipwright*.

with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears. And the time being come when they must depart, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of the city unto a town sundry miles off called Delft-Haven, where the ship lay ready to receive them. So they left that good and pleasant city, which had been their resting place near twelve years. But they knew they were PILGRIMS,* and looked not much on those things, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, and so quieted their spirits. When they came to the place, they found the ship and all things ready, and such of their friends as could not come with them, followed after them, and sundry also came from Amsterdam † to see them shipped, and to take their leave of them. That night was spent with little sleep by the most, but with friendly entertainment and christian discourse, and other real expressions of true christian love. The next day (July 22d,) the wind being fair, they went on board and their friends with them; when truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting; to see what sighs, and sobs, and prayers did sound amongst them; what tears did gush

* I think I may with singular propriety call their lives a *pilgrimage*. Most of them left England about the year 1609, after the truce with the Spaniards, young men between twenty and thirty years of age. They spent near twelve years among the Dutch, first at Amsterdam, afterwards at Leyden. After having arrived to the meridian of life, the declining part was to be spent in another world, among savages, of whom every European must have received a most unfavorable, if not formidable idea. — *Hutchinson, History Mass.* 2. 452.

† About 50 miles from Delft-Haven.

from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each other's heart; that sundry of the Dutch strangers, that stood on the quay as spectators could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfeigned love. But the tide, which stays for no man, calling them away that were thus loth to depart, their reverend pastor, falling down upon his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks commended them, with most fervent prayers to the Lord, and his blessing; and then with mutual embraces and many tears, they took their leaves of one another, which proved their last leave to many of them. Thus hoisting, with a prosperous wind, we came in a short time to Southampton, where they found the bigger ship come from London, lying ready with all the rest of their company.'

It was doubtless a source of keenest regret, that various considerations, imposed by necessity, or recommended by prudence, required an arrangement, by which only a part of the congregation of Robinson, should undertake the hazardous experiment of colonization. This arrangement necessarily subjected them to a painful separation, imparting to the scene of embarcation, the mingled emotions of doubt, hope, fear and affection, to a degree of intensity which renders the power of language an insufficient medium of adequate description.

To form just conclusions respecting prominent events, deeply affecting the condition of mankind,

perhaps no better method can be adopted, than to select those of simultaneous occurrence; to observe the different degree of interest, with which they were respectively regarded at the time, trace the different consequences by which they have been followed in the lapse of ages, and from this comparative examination, determine the just value and extent of their influence on human affairs. In accordance with this remark, the embarcation at Delft-Haven, and the thirty years war of Europe, have been happily designated, as affording appropriate subjects of just comparison. The one was peaceful and unobtrusive, sanctioned by the fervent solemnities of religion, under the direction of individuals, whose previous history had formed a school of the severest trials, in defence of christian liberty, eminently adapted to prepare them for the still sharper conflicts and perils which in fearful array hung over the dubious horizon of their future progress. It was the faith, full of immortality, thus nurtured and established, that imparted the strength, by which they unreservedly resigned their future destiny, in the patience of hope and the labor of love, to the control of infinite wisdom, and the protection of Him, who holds the waters as in the hollow of his hand.

The other event was signalized, by the pomp and circumstance of miscalled glorious war. The trumpet which summoned the opposing hosts to combat, caught the ear, and riveted the gaze of mankind, and the blood of thousands was poured out like water, on

the altar of vengeance. The din of battle has ceased. The warriors of that day sleep in the 'dust and ashes' of silent forgetfulness; and the tide of time bears on its bosom hardly a ripple, to remind us of the tempest by which it was lashed into furious agitation. But the Pilgrims amidst the shades of obscurity, unheeded by the world's applauding gaze, pursued the solitary, noiseless tenor of their way, across the ocean, and established the foundations of empire; now expanded from the bleak shores which they first explored, to the waves of the distant Pacific, 'and there is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard.'

With the following remarks on this interesting subject we close the present chapter.

'The embarcation at Delft-Haven, that scene of interest unparalleled, on which a pencil of your own* has just enabled us to look back with tears and praise, and sympathy, and the fond pride of children; that scene of few and simple incidents; just the setting out of a handful of, not then, very famous persons, on a voyage, but which, as we gaze on it, begins to speak to you, as with the voices and melodies of an immortal hymn, which dilates and becomes idolized into the auspicious going forth of a colony, whose planting has changed the history of the world;—a

* In allusion to Weir's Picture of the Embarcation of the Pilgrims from Delft-Haven in Holland, which was then exhibiting in several cities of the Union, and which has since been placed in one of the panels in the Rotunda of the Capitol at Washington. For a description of this Painting, see Appendix A.

noble colony of devoted christians, — educated, firm men, valiant soldiers, and honorable women; a colony, on the commencement of whose heroic enterprise, the selectest influences of religion seemed to be descending visibly; and beyond whose perilous path are hung, the rainbow and the western star of empire.' *

* Choate's Oration at New York, Dec. 22d, 1843

CHAPTER V.

The Departure of the Mayflower and Speedwell for America — Incidents of the Voyage — Arrival at Cape Cod.

The Ship Mayflower, Mr. Jones, master, having arrived from London to Southampton, after waiting seven days, was joined by the Speedwell, Mr. Reynolds, master, from Delft-Haven; and active preparations were made for a prompt prosecution of the voyage — aided by Mr. Weston, one of the merchant adventurers of London, who had come for that purpose. Seven hundred pounds sterling, were laid out at Southampton, and seventeen hundred pounds more as an adventure. A letter from Mr. Robinson, their pastor, without date, but probably written the 27th of July, addressed to his 'loving christian friends,' was received by Mr. Carver, and read to the whole company. This letter was deeply fraught with the excellent spirit of its distinguished author, and was gratefully received by those, who had so long enjoyed the benefits of his ministry.

The company was conveniently distributed into both ships, and a governor and several assistants were appointed for each, to have the oversight of all

on board. They embarked from Southampton on the 5th day of August, 1620. They had not proceeded far, however, before Mr. Reynolds of the Speedwell complained that his ship was in so leaky a condition that he feared to proceed further, and on the 13th of August, both vessels put into Dartmouth. The Speedwell having undergone what were deemed adequate repairs, both vessels put to sea again on the 21st of August. After proceeding about one hundred leagues beyond the land's end of England, Mr. Reynolds again complained of his ship, and the danger of foundering, if they proceeded on the voyage, when both vessels entered the harbor of Plymouth. On a second examination of the Speedwell, no particular injury seemed to have been sustained, and the general weakness of the ship was assigned as the cause of difficulty, though it afterwards appeared, that the deception of Reynolds and others was the main cause of the serious and repeated delays to which they had been subjected, and which proved highly injurious to their future interests. It was now determined to dismiss the Speedwell, and such part of the whole company as could not be accommodated in the Mayflower.* It was decided

* Though it is not improbable, that as respected some of the passengers appointed to return in the Speedwell with Mr. Cushman, reference was had to their relative ability to aid in the arduous labor of establishing the intended colony, there seems no reason to conclude, as some historians have intimated and asserted, that they were *timid*, or *discouraged*. The spirit, not of fear, but of a sound mind, appears to have generally pervaded the whole body of emigrants; and Robert

that Mr. Cushman and his family, and others, about twenty in all, should return to London. Another sad parting scene occurred, and the *Mayflower* on the 6th day of September, once more spread her canvass to a favorable breeze. But the fair prospects which cheered the pilgrims, when leaving the shores of England for the last time, were soon clouded; contrary winds opposed their progress; fierce storms assailed them; the upper works of the ship were injured, and became leaky; one of the main beams was wrenched from its place; serious doubts existed whether it would be practicable to pursue the voyage; and a consultation of the principal seamen and passengers was held. But the ship proving strong under water, the beam was restored to its proper position by means of a screw, strongly secured by the carpenter, and they continued their voyage. 'And so, after many boisterous storms, in which they could bear no sail, but were forced to lie at hull for many days together, after long being at sea, (on the 9th of Nov.) they fell in with the land, called Cape Cod, the which being made and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful.'

Cushman was the last individual among them on whose character for self devotion, intelligence and courage, the slightest breath of suspicion should rest.

CHAPTER VI.

Exploration of Cape Cod — Compact on board the Mayflower — Landing at Plymouth.

The sensations of delight with which the sight of land was hailed by the pilgrims, awakened sentiments of ardent gratitude, which found expression in devout acknowledgments to Heaven, for preservation through the multiplied difficulties and imminent dangers to which they had been exposed in their passage across the ocean. It was their intention to settle at or near Hudson's River,* according to the agreement made

* The following remarks are copied from a note in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims. 'Morton in his Memorial, gives another account of the matter. He says, page 34, 'Their putting into this place (Cape Cod Harbor) was partly by reason of a storm, by which they were forced in, but more especially by the fraudulency and contrivance of Mr. Jones, the master of the ship; for their intention as before noted, and his engagement was to Hudson's River. But some of the Dutch having notice of their intentions, and having thoughts about the same time of erecting a plantation there likewise, they fraudulently hired the said Jones, by delays while they were in England, and now under the pretence of the shoals, &c. to disappoint them in their going thither. He adds in a note, 'Of this plot betwixt the Dutch and Mr. Jones, I have had late and certain intelligence.' But the cotemporary narratives, written by Bradford and Winslow, say nothing about the treachery of the captain. Nor does Bradford's history, as quoted by Prince,

previous to their departure from England; but the land at first so gladly welcomed, after the fatigues of a long and boisterous voyage, was widely remote from the point of destination, and the attempt to reach it, was obstructed by the dangerous shoals they encountered, which obliged them to return to Cape Cod.

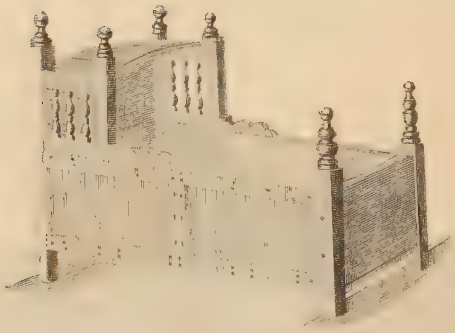
page 162, who is therefore obliged to derive this statement from Morton. Morton is the first to mention it, and he does it in a book, printed in 1669; and in his book, half a century after the event is said to have occurred, he says, it is true, 'that he had *late* and certain intelligence of this plot.' If it had been *early* intelligence, it would have been more certain. But Morton was only eleven years old when he came over with his father to Plymouth in 1623, and when he published his book, all the first comers were dead who could have furnished *credible* information on this point — they had died, and 'given no sign.'

The foregoing remarks do not appear to rest upon sufficient grounds, to discredit the positive, unqualified declaration of Sec. Morton, that he had '*late* and *certain* intelligence of this plot.' It is evident that *credible* information might have been obtained, with reference to this matter, in 1669, from John Howland, who then lived in Plymouth, and died there in 1672, and from John Alden who lived in Duxbury, and died in 1687, both of whom were 'first comers' of the Mayflower, and whose authority none would deny as standing second to no other. It must be admitted that Morton, as an intimate relation of Gov. Bradford, and from his official situation as Secretary of the Colony, for many years, during his administration, possessed the best means of procuring information, on all subjects of Colonial history, whether *early* or *late*. The silence of Bradford and Winslow, in their early histories, does not seem *conclusive* on this point, and may have been the result of prudential considerations, rendering it inexpedient to *publish* any remarks implicating Capt. Jones, on account of his connection with the merchant adventurers, or for want of definite information at that time. It is further not impossible, that as an early and mutually beneficial intercourse was opened, between the pilgrims and the Dutch at New Amsterdam, allusions to this subject might have been prudentially avoided, to prevent any occurrence, that would endanger their

They were now in great perplexity; in a strange, unexplored region, without the bounds of their patent; and winter was fast approaching. The captain of the Mayflower urged them, forthwith to find some place of settlement, and intimations were given that unless

good understanding. It is matter of history, that both Isaac Allerton, and Thomas Willet, were, in the latter period of their life, occasionally residents with the Dutch at New Amsterdam, from whom it is quite possible, if not probable, that 'the *late* and *certain* information' of which Secretary Morton writes, was received.

It is somewhat singular at least, that Capt. Jones, after the well known voyages of Gosnold and Smith, should have steered his course for Hudson's River, and have found himself so remote from the point of destination. But little is said of Capt. Jones in early history, and that little is not much to his credit. His impatience at Cape Cod, at a time, perhaps more trying to the Pilgrims than that of any other in their history; the intimation (according to Gov. Bradford's History) from him and his seamen, that they would be left to shift for themselves, would not seem to recommend his memory much to our favorable regard. Bradford and Winslow, however silent with respect to Jones, are decided in their charge of duplicity on the part of Reynolds, the master of the Speedwell; and that some collusion existed between them and the early Dutch settlers is highly probable, an inference, which accords with uniform tradition, since the Memorial was published in 1669; and from the positive testimony of Secretary Morton, whose claims to confidence in matters of fact, whatever other faults he may have had as an historian, rest upon grounds not easily shaken. The remark, 'if it had been *early* intelligence, it would have been more *certain*,' is more epigrammatic than sound. In cases of fraudulent contrivance, time is the great truth-teller, and the latest intelligence is often the surest. Prince, in his N. E. Chronology p. 67, observes, 'In the spring of 1620 Capt. Dermer returns to New England. In his way he meets with certain Hollanders, who had a trade in Hudson's river some years.' These Hollanders may have been the same mentioned by Edward Winslow, from whom the Pilgrims received 'large offers' if they would 'go under them to Hudson's River.'



this were speedily accomplished, the vessel would leave them to their fate.

On the 11th day of November, the Mayflower arrived and anchored at Cape Cod Harbor,* having been 98 days on her passage across the Atlantic. Supplies of wood and water were here obtained, and it was resolved, when their shallop could be repaired, to explore the bay with a view to find some suitable place of settlement.

'This day, before we came to harbor, observing some not well affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and governors as we should by common consent agree to make and choose, and set our hands to this that follows, word for word.†

* See Cape Cod, in the following work, for more particulars respecting the localities visited by the Pilgrims.

† One influence there was, however, on the history of English puritanism, whose permanent and various effects on its doctrines, character and destinies, is among the most striking things in the whole history of Opinion. I mean its contact with the republican reforms of the Continent, and particularly those of Geneva. I ascribe to the five years in Geneva an influence that has changed the condition of the world. I seem to myself to trace to it, as an influence on the English race, a new Theology, a new Politics, another tone of character, the opening of another era of time and liberty. I seem to myself, to trace to it, a portion, at least, of the objects of the great civil war in England, the republican constitution, framed in the cabin of the Mayflower, the divinity of Jonathan Edwards, the Battle of Bunker Hill, and the Independence of America. — *Choate's Oration at New York, Dec.* 22, 1824.

In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, &c. having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King James, of England, France and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, anno Domini 1620.

[Mr. John Carver †	8	John Alden	1
William Bradford †	2	Mr. Samuel Fuller	2
Mr. Edward Winslow †	5	*Mr. Christoph'r Martin†	4
Mr. William Brewster †	6	*Mr. William Mullins †	5
Mr. Isaac Allerton †	6	*Mr. William White †	5
Capt. Miles Standish †	2	Mr. Richard Warren	1
John Howland		*John Goodman	1

Mr. Stephen Hopkins†	8	*Degory Priest	1
*Edward Tilly†	4	*Thomas Williams	1
*John Tilly†	3	Gilbert Winslow	1
Francis Cook	2	*Edmund Margeson	1
*Thomas Rogers	2	Peter Brown	1
*Thomas Tinker†	3	*Richard Britterige	1
*John Ridgdale†	2	George Soule	
*Edward Fuller†	3	*Richard Clarke	1
*John Turner	3	Richard Gardiner	1
Francis Eaton†	3	*John Allerton	1
*James Chilton†	3	*Thomas English	1
*John Crackston	2	Edward Dotey	
John Billington†	4	Edward Leister	——
*Moses Fletcher	1		101]

The above list of the signers of the celebrated Compact, is taken from Prince's New England Chronology, vol. 1, p. 85, Edit. 1736, which is preceded by the following remarks. 'To this instrument Mr. *Morton* sets the *subscribers* in the *following order:* but their *names corrected*, with *titles* and *families*, I take from the *list* at the end of Governor Bradford's folio manuscript. Only this I observe, that out of modesty, he omits the title of Mr. to his own name, which he ascribes to several others.'

The figures opposite each name designate the number in each family. Those having an Asterisk (*) prefixed, died before the end of March. Those which are marked with an Obelisk (†) brought their wives with them. One of those attached to the name of Samuel Fuller was his servant, named William Butten, a youth, who died Nov. 1st, on the passage.

George Soule was of Winslow's family. Edward Dotey and Edward Leister were of Stephen Hopkins's family. Christopher Martin, Richard Warren, Stephen Hopkins, John Billington, Edward Dotey Edward Leister, and perhaps some others, joined them at London.

The number against the name of William White does not include that of his son Peregrine, born in Cape Cod harbor.

John Howland was of Governor Carver's family,* John Allerton and Thomas English were seamen Dr. Young in his Chronicles of the Pilgrims, page 122 remarks that 'the list includes the servant who died, the latter ought not to be counted. The number *living* at the signing of the Compact, was therefore only 100.'

'So there were just 101 who sailed from Plymouth in England, and just as many arrived in Cape Cod harbor. And this is the solitary number, who for an undefiled conscience and the love of pure Christianity first left their native and pleasant land, and encountered all the toils and hazards of the tumultuous ocean, in search of some uncultivated region in North

* The mode of expression used by Gov. Bradford, has probably led to the impression among many, that John Howland was much younger at the time of landing than was really the fact, and perhaps our painting of the landing has countenanced this impression. The mode of expression used by Gov. Bradford, may have arisen from the fact that Howland's wife, Elizabeth, was a daughter of Gov. Carver. In the division of land in 1623, John Howland was allotted four acres. He was 28 years old when the Mayflower arrived.

Virginia, where they might quietly enjoy their religious liberties, and transmit them to posterity in hopes that none would follow to disturb or vex them.' The same day Mr. John Carver was appointed their Governor.

'These were the founders of the Colony of New Plymouth. The settlement of this colony occasioned the settlement of Massachusetts Bay, which was the source of all the other Colonies of New England. Virginia was in a dying state, and seemed to revive and flourish from the example of New England.

'I am not preserving from oblivion the names of heroes whose chief merit is the overthrow of cities, provinces and empires, but the names of the founders of a flourishing town and colony, if not of the whole British empire in North America.'—*Hutchinson* 11, 462.

This memorable act of the Pilgrims, which occurred on board the Mayflower in Cape Cod harbor, has justly been regarded as the foundation of our republican institutions, and the only instance on record, in which the great principles of equal rights have been incorporated into a frame of civil government by the deliberate, unconstrained action of the people, having reference to the general good, without exclusive reservations to any.

'* This is perhaps the only instance, in human history, of that positive original social compact, which speculative Philosophers have imagined as the only

* John Quincy Adams's Oration, Dec. 22, 1802.

legitimate source of government. Here was a unanimous and personal assent by all the individuals of the community, to the association by which they become a nation. It was the result of circumstances and discussions, which had occurred during their passage from Europe, and is a full demonstration that the nature of civil government, abstracted from the political institutions of their native country, had been an object of their serious meditation. The settlers of all the European colonies had contented themselves with the powers conferred upon them by their respective charters, without looking beyond the seal of the royal parchment for the measure of their rights, and the rule of their duties.'

The first visit of the pilgrims on the shores of Cape Cod, was the same day on which they first anchored* in the harbor, when 16 men, well armed, were landed to procure wood, examine the country, and ascertain whether it was inhabited. At night they returned, loaded with juniper for firewood, not having met with either houses or inhabitants.

On Monday, the 13th of November, they unshipped the shallop and drew her on shore for repairs — an operation which occupied seventeen days, an injurious delay, which prevented a rapid exploration of the surrounding country. The passengers generally went on shore for refreshment, — a desirable change after so long and tedious a voyage.

* About twenty rods from the end of Long Point, and two miles from Provincetown Village.

The impatience of delay among the passengers while the shallop was undergoing repairs, induced several of them to volunteer their services, and to travel by land along the shore. This measure was 'permitted, rather than approved,' on account of the dangers it involved; and sixteen men were sent out, armed with musket, sword, and corslet, conducted by Capt. Miles Standish; and William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins and Edward Tilley were appointed as counsellors. They were set on shore the 15th day of November, and having marched in single file by the sea shore, they discovered 5 or 6 savages approaching with a dog, but on perceiving the party, they ran into the woods and whistled the dog after them. Fearing some ambush, the Indians were followed into the woods, who upon observing this, took to rapid flight. The Indians were pursued to the distance of about ten miles, without being overtaken; and night coming on, preparations were made for lodging, three sentinels were posted for a watch, a fire was kindled, and a rendezvous held there during the night. November 16th, in the morning, as soon as the Indian track was discernible, they proceeded on their march till they had compassed east harbor creek, and then through woods, and hills, and valleys, obstructed by bushes and boughs, which subjected them to great fatigue, without finding houses or people, or fresh water. About ten o'clock they came to a deep valley where they discovered a deer and springs of fresh water, of which they were heartily glad, 'and drank,'

says Gov. Bradford, 'the first New England water with as much delight as ever we drunk drink in all our lives.' Continuing their march south, they arrived at the shore and kindled a fire, according to previous arrangement, that those on board the ship might perceive the direction in which they were traveling

They came to a fresh pond, then to a large plain, where the Indians had formerly planted corn — then to another place where corn had been deposited in the earth contained in a basket, holding three or four bushels — with which they returned to the fresh pond they had passed, and there spent the night.

The corn was taken upon this occasion, after mutual consultation, with a determination to remunerate the owners, whenever the opportunity should occur, which they did about six months after, to their entire satisfaction.*

On the 17th they continued their rambles through the woods and along the shores — sometimes in the

* Mr. Baylies in his memoir of Plymouth Colony, severely condemns this act. He says among other remarks, 'Had the company been perishing with hunger, the appropriation of the property of others might have been justified, as it was, it was inexcusable.'

In reply to the above remarks it may be observed, that the morality of an action is mainly determined by the *intention* of the party from whom it proceeds. In the next place the *situation* of the *pilgrims*, if not that of actual starvation, was such as to threaten it so strongly, as to render the law of self preservation applicable to their case. They had been driven providentially into Cape Cod harbor, and were not voluntary intruders there. The fact of restitution afterwards showed their honesty — but if the power of restitution had been wanting, their intention and the circumstances of the case would seem to have justified the act.

water up to their knees, till they arrived near the ship, and shooting off their pieces as a signal, the long boat was sent to receive them, and Mr. Carver, and Mr. Jones, and others, came to meet them.

After the shallop had been repaired, on the 27th of November another expedition was fitted out under the command of Capt. Jones, consisting of thirty-four persons, ten of them being seamen belonging to the ship. This expedition occupied three days, and after visiting Pamet River, and exploring the vicinity, returned on board the ship. The question of settlement now became a subject of discussion again, and various opinions existed as to the course which ought to be pursued — and some were urgent to settle at the place last visited — while others were inclined to attempt a settlement at Agawam, (now Ipswich,) others suggested that possibly their might be not far off a much better place, and eventually it was decided to make some further discovery in the bay, but in no case so far as Agawam.

On the 5th of December, an accident occurred which might have proved serious in its consequences. A son of Francis Bellington, in the absence of his father, shot off a musket in the cabin of the Mayflower, there being at the time powder and other combustibles near, but no injury was done.

On the 6th of December, another expedition was resolved upon, the day previous having been stormy. Ten men who were willing to embark, were appointed, namely, Capt. Standish, Master Carver, William

Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Tilley, Edward Tilley, John Howland, and three of London, Richard Warren, Stephen Hopkins and Edward Dotte, and two seamen, John Alderton and Thomas English. Of the ship's company there went, Master Clark and Master Coppin, the master gunner, and three sailors. It was late in the day before the preparations for the expedition were completed, and the weather was extremely severe. After clearing from the ship it required some time to get underway on account of a sandy point, during which two of their men were sick, and Edward Tilley had nearly swooned. The Gunner was also sick, and so remained all that day and night. At last they cleared the sandy point, set their sails, and within a few hours reached the weather shore, and found smoother water. The weather was so severe as to give their clothes the appearance of coats of iron. After sailing six or seven leagues by the shore, to a place called Billington Point, they discovered, on approaching the shore, ten or twelve Indians, who fled when they discovered the shallop. They landed a league or two from the place where the Indians were first seen, built a barricade, procured wood and there spent the night. On the 7th of December, they coasted and explored in various places — visited Eastham and Welfleet, and prabably spent the night at a place called Great Meadow Creek in Eastham.

At midnight a hideous noise was heard, and the sentinels cried out, 'Arm! Arm!' Two muskets were shot off, and the noise ceased.

On the 8th of December, about five o'clock in the morning, after prayer, as they were preparing for breakfast, and for further exploration, and some had carried their armor to the shore, and were returning, an unexpected and strange outcry was heard; one of the company being absent, coming in, exclaimed, 'They are men! Indians! Indians!' on which the arrows came flying thickly among them. Captain Standish having his piece in readiness, made a shot at the enemy, and afterwards several others did the same. The contest was brought to a close by means of great intrepidity on the part of the pilgrims, and the enemy retreated with precipitation.

After returning thanks to God for their wonderful deliverance, they took to their shallop, and called the place '*The First Encounter.*' The wind being favorable, they sailed along the coast of Barnstable Bay, about forty-five miles, but saw no river or creek convenient for landing. After sailing an hour or two snow and rain commenced falling; the sea became rough; the hinges of the rudder were broken, and it could no longer be used; but two men supplied its place with oars. The ocean heaved with increasing agitation, and they were in great anxiety and danger. The night was fast gathering around them. At this trying moment, Master Coppin bid them be of good cheer for he saw the land; but as they drew near it, the gale increased, and heavy sail being set in order to reach the harbor before dark, the mast was split in three pieces, and the shallop was threatened with

destruction. 'Yet by God's mercy,' says Gov. Bradford, 'we had the flood with us, and struck into the harbor. The pilot, who had bid the company be of good cheer, was deceived, and when arriving at the harbor exclaimed, 'Lord be merciful to us, my eyes never saw this place before,' and he and the master's mate would have run the shallop ashore in a cove full of breakers, had not the seaman who steered, bid them that rowed, 'if they were men, about with her, or else they were all cast away;' the which they did with all speed,' and although it was dark and rainy, they succeeded in securing a safe shelter under the lee of a small island, where they spent the night.*

'In the morning they marched over the Island, but found no inhabitants, making it their rendezvous, being Saturday, the 10th of December. On the Sabbath day we rested; and on Monday we sounded the harbor and found it a very good harbor for our shipping. We marched into the land and found divers corn fields, and little running brooks, a place very good for situation. So we returned (the 14th) to our ship with good news to our people, which did much comfort our hearts.

* Clark's Island.

CHAPTER VII.

Of their Landing and Settling at New Plymouth.

'On the 15th day we weighed anchor to go to the place we had discovered; and coming within two leagues of the land, we could not fetch the harbour, but were fain to put round again towards Cape Cod, our course lying west, and the wind was at north-west. But it pleased God that the next day, being Saturday the 16th day, the wind came fair, and we put to sea again, and came safely into a safe harbour; and within half an hour the wind changed, so as if we had been letted but a little, we had gone back to Cape Cod.

'This harbour is a bay greater than Cape Cod, compassed with a goodly land; and in the bay two fine islands,* uninhabited, wherein are nothing but woods, oaks, pines, walnuts, beech, sassafras, vines, and other trees which we know not. This bay is a most hopeful place; innumerable store of fowl, and excellent good; and cannot but be of fish in their seasons; skate, cod, turbot, and herring, we have tasted

* The reader will find explanations of the different points alluded to in the present chapter, under the heads of Leyden street and other localities described in this book.

of; abundance of muscles, the greatest and best that ever we saw; crabs and lobsters, in their time, infinite. It is in fashion like a sickle, or fish-hook.

'Monday, the 18th day, we went a land,* manned with the master of the ship and three or four of the sailors. We marched along the coast in the woods some seven or eight miles, but saw not an Indian nor an Indian house; only we found where formerly had been some inhabitants, and where they had planted their corn. We found not any navigable river, but four or five small running brooks of very sweet fresh water, that all run into the sea. The land for the crust of the earth is, a spit's depth, excellent black mould, and fat in some places; two or three great oaks, but not very thick, pines, walnuts, beech, ash, birch, hazel, holly, asp, sassafras in abundance, and vines every where, cherry trees, plum trees, and many others which we know not. Many kinds of herbs we found here in winter, as strawberry leaves innumerable, sorrel, yarrow, carvel, brooklime, liverwort, water-cresses, great store of leeks and onions, and an excellent strong kind of flax and hemp. Here is sand, gravel, and excellent clay, no better in the world, excellent for pots, and will wash like soap, and great store of stone, though somewhat soft, and the best water that ever we drunk; and the brooks now begin to be full of fish. That night, many being weary with marching, we went aboard again.

'The next morning, being Tuesday, the 19th of De-

* The words 'in a long boat,' are here omitted.

cember, we went again to discover further; some went on land, and some in the shallop. The land we found as the former day we did; and we found a creek, and went up three English miles, a very pleasant river at full sea. A bark of thirty tons may go up; but at low water scarce our shallop could pass. This place we had a great liking to plant in, but that it was so far from our fishing, our principal profit, and so encompassed with woods, that we should be in much danger of the salvages; and our number being so little, and so much ground to clear; so as we thought good to quit and clear that place till we were of more strength. Some of us, having a good mind, for safety, to plant in the greater isle, we crossed the bay, which is there five or six miles over, and found the isle about a mile and a half or two miles about, all wooded, and no fresh water but two or three pits, that we doubted of fresh water in summer, and so full of wood as we could hardly clear so much as to serve us for corn. Besides, we judged it cold for our corn, and some part very rocky; yet divers thought of it as a place defensible, and of great security. That night we returned again a shipboard, with resolution the next morning to settle on some of those places.

'So in the morning, after we had called on God for direction, we came to this resolution, to go presently ashore again, and to take a better view of two places which we thought most fitting for us; for we could not now take time for further search or consideration

our victuals being much spent, especially our beer, and it being now the 19th of December. After our landing and viewing of the places, so well as we could, we came to a conclusion, by most voices, to set on the main land, on the first place, on a high ground, where there is a great deal of land cleared, and hath been planted with corn three or four years ago; and there is a very sweet brook runs under the hill side, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunk, and where we may harbour our shallops and boats exceeding well; and in this brook much good fish in their seasons; on the further side of the river also much corn-ground cleared. In one field is a great hill, on which we point to make a platform, and plant our ordnance, which will command all round about. From thence we may see into the bay, and far into the sea; and we may see thence Cape Cod. Our greatest labor will be fetching of our wood, which is half a quarter of an English mile; but there is enough so far off. What people inhabit here we yet know not, for as yet we have seen none. So there we made our rendezvous, and a place for some of our people, about twenty, resolving in the morning to come all ashore and to build houses.

'But the next morning, being Thursday, the 21st of December, it was stormy and wet, that we could not go ashore; and those that remained there all night could do nothing, but were wet, not having daylight enough to make them a sufficient court of guard, to keep them dry. All that night it blew and rained

extremely. It was so tempestuous that the shallop could not go on land so soon as was meet, for they had no victuals on land. About eleven o'clock the shallop went off with much ado with provision, but could not return, it blew so strong; and was such foul weather that we were forced to let fall our anchor, and ride with three anchors ahead.

'Friday, the 22d, the storm still continued, that we could not get a land, nor they come to us aboard. This morning goodwife Alderton, was delivered of a son, but dead born.

'Saturday, the 23d, so many of us as could went on shore, felled and carried timber, to provide themselves stuff for building.

'Sunday, the 24th, our people on shore heard a cry of some savages, as they thought, which caused an alarm, and to stand on their guard, expecting an assault; but all was quiet.

'Monday, the 25th day, we went on shore, some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry; so no man rested all that day. But, towards night, some, as they were at work, heard a noise of some Indians, which caused us all to go to our muskets; but we heard no further. So we came aboard again, and left some twenty to keep the court of guard. That night we had a sore storm of wind and rain.

'Monday, the 25th, being Christmas day, we began to drink water aboard. But at night the master caused us to have some beer; and so on board we had divers

times, now and then some beer, but on shore none at all.

'Tuesday, the 26th, it was foul weather, that we could not go ashore.

'Wednesday, the 27th, we went to work again.

'Thursday, the 28th of December, so many as could went to work on the hill, where we purposed to build our platform for our ordnance, and which doth command all the plain and the bay, and from whence we may see far into the sea, and might be easier impaled, having two rows of houses and a fair street. So in the afternoon we went to measure out the grounds, and first we took notice how many families there were, willing all single men that had no wives to join with some family, as they thought fit, that so we might build fewer houses; which was done, and we reduced them to nineteen families. To greater families we allotted larger plots; to every person half a pole in breadth, and three in length; and so lots were cast where every man should lie; which was done, and staked out. We thought this proportion was large enough at the first, for houses and gardens to impale them round, considering the weakness of our people, many of them growing ill with colds; for our former discoveries in frost and storms, and the wading at Cape Cod had brought much weakness amongst us, which increased so every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of their deaths.

'Friday and Saturday we fitted ourselves for our labor; but our people on shore were much troubled

and discouraged with rain and wet that day, being very stormy and cold. We saw great smokes of fire made by the Indians, about six or seven miles from us, as we conjectured.

'Monday, the 1st of January, we went betimes to work. We were much hindered in lying so far off from the land, and fain to go as the tide served, that we lost much time; for our ship drew so much water that she lay a mile and almost a half off, though a ship of seventy or eighty tons at high water may come to the shore.

'Wednesday, the 3d of January, some of our people being abroad to get and gather thatch, they saw great fires of the Indians; and were at their corn-fields, yet saw none of the savages, nor had seen any of them since we came to this bay.

'Thursday, the 4th of January, Captain Miles Standish, with four or five more, went to see if they could meet with any of the savages in that place where the fires were made. They went to some of their houses, but not lately inhabited; yet could they not meet with any. As they came home, they shot at an eagle and killed her, which was excellent meat; it was hardly to be discerned from mutton.

'Friday, the 5th of January, one of the sailors found alive upon the shore a herring, which the master had to his supper; which put us in hopes of fish, but as yet we had got but one cod; we wanted small hooks.

'Saturday, the 6th of January, Master Marten was

very sick, and, to our judgment, no hope of life. So Master Carver was sent for to come aboard to speak with him about his accounts; who came the next morning.

'Monday, the 8th of January, was a very fair day, and we went betimes to work. Master Jones sent the shallop, as he had formerly done, to see where fish could be got. They had a great storm at sea, and were in some danger. At night they returned with three great seals, and an excellent good cod, which did assure us that we should have plenty of fish shortly.

'This day Francis Billington, having the week before seen from the top of a tree on a high hill a great sea, as he thought, went with one of the master's mates to see it. They went three miles and then came to a great water, divided into two great lakes; the bigger of them five or six miles in curcuit, and in it an isle of a cable length square; the other three miles in compass, in their estimation. They are fine fresh water, full of fish and fowl. A brook issues from it; it will be an excellent place for us in time. They found seven or eight Indian houses, but not lately inhabited. When they saw the houses, they were in some fear; for they were but two persons, and one piece.

'Tuesday, the 9th of January, was a reasonable fair day; and we went to labor that day in the building of our town, in two rows of houses, for more safety. We divided by lot the plot of ground whereon to build

our town, after the proportion formerly allotted. We agreed that every man should build his own house, thinking by that course men would make more haste than working in common. The common house, in which for the first we made our rendezvous, being near finished, wanted only covering, it being about twenty foot square. Some should make mortar, and some gather thatch; so that in four days half of it was thatched. Frost and foul weather hindered us much. This time of the year seldom could we work half the week.

'Thursday, the 11th, William Bradford being at work (for it was a fair day,) was vehemently taken with a grief and pain, and so shot to his huckle-bone, it was doubted that he would have instantly died. He got cold in the former discoveries, especially the last; and felt some pain in his ancles by times; but he grew a little better towards night, and in time, through God's mercy, in the use of means, recovered.

'Friday, the 12th, we went to work; but about noon it began to rain, that it forced us to give over work.

'This day two of our people put us in great sorrow and care. There was four sent to gather and cut thatch in the morning; and two of them, John Goodman and Peter Browne, having cut thatch all the forenoon, went to a further place, and willed the other two to bind up that which was cut, and to follow them. So they did, being about a mile and a half from our plantation. But when the two came after, they could not find them, nor hear any thing of them at all,

though they hallooed and shouted as loud as they could. So they returned to the company, and told them of it. Whereupon Master Carver, and three or four more went to seek them; but could hear nothing of them. So they returning, sent more; but that night they could hear nothing at all of them. The next day they armed ten or twelve men out, verily thinking the Indians had surprised them. They went seeking seven or eight miles; but could neither see nor hear any thing at all. So they returned, with much discomfort to us all.

'These two that were missed at dinner time, took their meat in their hands, and would go walk and refresh themselves. So going a little off, they find a lake of water, and having a great mastiff bitch with them and a spaniel, by the water side they found a great deer. The dogs chased him; and they followed so far as they lost themselves, and they could not find the way back. They wandered all that afternoon, being wet; and at night it did freeze and snow, They were slenderly apparelled, and had no weapons but each one his sickle, nor any victuals. They ranged up and down and could find none of the salvages' habitations. When it drew to night, they were much perplexed; for they could find neither harbour nor meat; but, in frost and snow, were forced to make the earth their bed and the element their covering. And another thing did very much terrify them; they heard, as they thought, two lions roaring exceedingly for a long time together, and a third that

they thought was very near them. So not knowing what to do, they resolved to climb up into a tree, as their safest refuge, though that would prove an intolerable cold lodging. So they stood at the tree's root, that when the lions came, they might take their opportunity of climbing up. The bitch they were fain to hold by the neck, for she would have been gone to the lion. But it pleased God so to dispose, that the wild beasts came not. So they walked up and down under the tree all night. It was an extreme cold night. So soon as it was light, they travelled again, passing by many lakes and brooks and woods, and in one place where the salvages had burnt the space of five miles in length, which is a fine champaign country, and even. In the afternoon, it pleased God from a high hill they discovered the two isles in the bay, and so that night got to the plantation, being ready to faint with travail and want of victuals, and almost famished with cold. John Goodman was fain to have his shoes cut off his feet, they were so swelled with cold; and it was a long while after ere he was able to go. Those on the shore were much comforted at their return; but they on shipboard were grieved at deeming them lost.

'But the next day, being the 14th of January, in the morning about six of the clock, the wind being very great, they on shipboard spied their great new rendezvous on fire; which was to them a new discomfort, fearing, because of the supposed loss of the men, that the salvages had fired them. Neither could

they presently go to them, for want of water. But after three quarters of an hour they went, as they had purposed the day before to keep the Sabbath on shore, because now there was the greater number of people. At their landing they heard good tidings of the return of the two men, and that the house was fired occasionally by a spark that flew into the thatch, which instantly burnt it all up; but the roof stood, and little hurt. The most lost, was Master Carver's and William Bradford's, who then lay sick in bed, and if they had not risen with good speed, had been blown up with powder; but, through God's mercy, they had no harm. The house was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their muskets charged; but, blessed be God, there was no harm done.

'Monday, the 15th day, it rained much all day, that they on shipboard could not go on shore, nor they on shore do any labor, but were all wet.

'Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, were very fair, sunshiny days, as if it had been in April; and our people, so many as were in health, wrought cheerfully.

'The 19th day we resolved to make a shed to put our common provision in, of which some were already set on shore; but at noon it rained, that we could not work. This day, in the evening, John Goodman went abroad to use his lame feet, that were pitifully ill with the cold he had got, having a little spaniel with him. A little way from the plantation two great wolves ran after the dog; the dog ran to him and betwixt his legs

for succour. He had nothing in his hand, but took up a stick and threw at one of them and hit him, and they presently ran both away, but came again. He got a pale-board in his hand; and they sat both on their tails grinning at him a good while; and went their way and left him.

'Saturday 20th, we made up our shed for our common goods.

'Sunday, the 21st, we kept our meeting on land.

'Monday, the 22d, was a fair day. We wrought on our houses; and in the afternoon carried up our hogsheads of meal to our common storehouse. The rest of the week we followed our business likewise.

'Monday, the 29th, in the morning, cold, frost, and sleet; but after reasonable fair. Both the long-boat and the shallop brought our common goods on shore.

'Tuesday and Wednesday, 30th and 31st of January, cold, frosty weather and sleet, that we could not work. In the morning, the master and others saw two savages, that had been on the island near our ship. What they came for we could not tell. They were going so far back again before they were descried, that we could not speak with them.

'Sunday, the 4th of February, was very wet and rainy, with the greatest gusts of wind that ever we had since we came forth; that though we rid in a very good harbour, yet we were in danger, because our ship was light, the goods taken out, and she unballasted; and it caused much daubing of our houses to fall down.

'Friday, the 9th, still the cold weather continued, that we could do little work. That afternoon, our little house for our sick people was set on fire by a spark that kindled in the roof; but no great harm was done. That evening, the master going ashore, killed five geese, which he friendly distributed among the sick people. He found also a good deer killed. The savages had cut off the horns, and a wolf was eating of him. How he came there we could not conceive.

'Friday, the 16th, was a fair day; but the northerly wind continued, which continued the frost. This day, after noon, one of our people being a fowling, and having taken a stand by a creek side in the reeds, about a mile and a half from our plantation, there came by him twelve Indians, marching towards our plantation, and in the woods he heard the noise of many more. He lay close till they were passed, and then with what speed he could he went home and gave the alarm. So the people abroad in the woods returned and armed themselves, but saw none of them; only, towards the evening, they made a great fire about the place where they were first discovered. Captain Miles Standish and Francis Cooke being at work in the woods, coming home left their tools behind them; but before they returned, their tools were taken away by the savages. This coming of the savages gave us occasion to keep more strict watch, and to make our pieces and furniture ready, which by the moisture and rain were out of temper.

'Saturday, the 17th day, in the morning, we called

a meeting for the establishing of military orders among ourselves; and we chose Miles Standish our captain, and gave him authority of command in affairs. And as we were in consultation hereabouts, two savages presented themselves upon the top of a hill, over against our plantation, about a quarter of a mile and less, and made signs unto us to come unto them; we likewise made signs unto them to come to us. Whereupon we armed ourselves and stood ready, and sent two over the brook towards them, to wit, Captain Standish and Stephen Hopkins, who went towards them. Only one of them had a musket, which they laid down on the ground in their sight, in sign of peace, and to parley with them. But the savages would not tarry their coming. A noise of a great many more was heard behind the hill; but no more came in sight. This caused us to plant our great ordnances in places most convenient.

'Wednesday, the 21st of Feburary, the master came on shore, with many of his sailors, and brought with him one of the great pieces, called a minion, and helped us to draw it up the hill, with another piece that lay on shore, and mounted them, and a saller, and two bases. He brought with him a very fat goose to eat with us, and we had a fat crane and a mallard, and a dried neat's tongue; and so we were kindly and friendly together.

'Saturday, the 3d of March, the wind was south, the morning misty, but towards noon warm and fair weather. The birds sang in the woods most pleas-

antly. At one of the clock it thundered, which was the first we heard in that country. It was strong and great claps, but short; but after an hour it rained very sadly till midnight.

'Wednesday, the 7th of March, the wind was full east, cold, but fair. That day, Master Carver, with five others, went to the great ponds, which seem to be excellent fishing places. All the way they went they found it exceedingly beaten, and haunted with deer; but they saw none. Amongst other fowl they saw one, a milk-white fowl, with a very black head. This day some garden seeds were sown.

'Friday, the 16th, a fair warm day towards. This morning we determined to conclude of the military orders, which we had begun to consider of before, but were interrupted by the savages, as we mentioned formerly. And whilst we were busied hereabout, we were interrupted again; for there presented himself a savage, which caused an alarm. He very boldly came all alone, and along the houses, straight to the rendezvous; where we intercepted him, not suffering him to go in, as undoubtedly he would out of his boldness. He saluted us in English, and bade us '*Welcome;*' for he had learned some broken English among the Englishmen that came to fish at Monhiggon, and knew by name most of the captains, commanders, and masters that usually come. He was a man free in speech so far as he could express his mind, and of a seemly carriage. We questioned him of many things; he was the first savage we could

meet withal. He said he was not of these parts, but of Morattiggon, and one of the sagamores or lords thereof; and had been eight months in these parts, it lying hence a day's sail with a great wind, and five days by land. He discoursed of the whole country, and of every province, and of their sagamores, and their number of men and strength. The wind beginning to rise a little, we cast a horseman's coat about him; for he was stark naked, only a leather about his waist, with a fringe about a span long or little more. He had a bow and two arrows, the one headed, and the other unheaded. He was a tall, straight man, the hair of his head black, long behind, only short before, none on his face at all. He asked some beer, but we gave him strong water, and biscuit, and butter, and cheese, and pudding, and a piece of mallard; all which he liked well, and had been acquainted with such amongst the English. He told us the place where we now lived is called Patuxet, and that about four years ago all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, nor child remaining, as indeed we have found none; so as there is none to hinder our possession, or to lay claim unto it. All the afternoon we spent in communication with him. We would gladly have been rid of him at night, but he was not willing to go this night. Then we thought to carry him on shipboard, wherewith he was well content, and went into the shallop; but the wind was high and the water scant, that it could not return back. We lodged him

that night at Steven Hopkins's house, and watched him.

'The next day he went away back to the Masasoits, from whence he said he came, who are our next bordering neighbors. They are sixty strong, as he saith. The Nausites are as near southeast of them, and are a hundred strong; and those were they of whom our people were encountered, as we before related. They are much incensed and provoked against the English; and about eight months ago slew three Englishmen, and two more hardly escaped by flight to Monhiggon. They were Sir Ferdinando Gorge's men, as this savage told us; as he did likewise of the *huggery*, that is, fight, that our discoverers had with the Nausites, and of our tools that were taken out of the woods, which we willed him should be brought again; otherwise we would right ourselves. These people are ill affected towards the English by reason of one Hunt, a master of a ship, who deceived the people and got them, under color of trucking with them, twenty out of this very place where we inhabit, and seven men from the Nausites, and carried them away, and sold them for slaves, like a wretched man (for twenty pound a man,) that cares not what mischief he doth for his profit.

'Saturday, in the morning, we dismissed the savage, and gave him a knife, a bracelet, and a ring. He promised within a night or two to come again and to bring with him some of the Massasoyts, our neigh-

bours, with such beavers' skins as they had to truck with us.

'Saturday and Sunday reasonable fair days. On this day came again the savage, and brought with him five other tall, proper men. They had every man a deer's skin on him, and the principal of them had a wild cat's skin, or such like, on the one arm. They had most of them long hosen up to their groins, close made, and above their groins to their waist another leather; they were altogether like the Irish trousers. They are of complexion like our English gipseys; no hair or very little on their faces; on their heads long hair to their shoulders, only cut before; some trussed up before with a feather, broad-wise, like a fan; another a fox tail, hanging out. These left (according to our charge given him before) their bows and arrows a quarter of a mile from our town. We gave them entertainment as we thought was fitting them. They did eat liberally of our English victuals. They made semblance unto us of friendship and amity. They sang and danced after their manner, like antics. They brought with them in a thing like a bow-case, (which the principal of them had about his waist,) a little of their corn pounded to powder, which, put to a little water, they eat. He had a little tobacco in a bag; but none of them drank but when he liked. Some of them had their faces painted black, from the forehead to the chin, four or five fingers broad; others after other fashions, as they liked. They brought three or four skins; but

we would not truck with them at all that day, but wished them to bring more, and we would truck for all; which they promised within a night or two, and would leave these behind them, though we were not willing they should; and they brought us all our tools again, which were taken in the woods, in our men's absence. So, because of the day, we dismissed them so soon as we could. But Samoset, our first acquaintance, either was sick or feigned himself so, and would not go with them, and stayed with us till Wednesday morning. Then we sent him to them, to know the reason they came not according to their words; and we gave him a hat, a pair of stockings and shoes, a shirt, and a piece of cloth to tie about his waist.

'The Sabbath day, when we sent them from us, we gave every one of them some trifles, especially the principal of them. We carried them, along with our arms, to the place where they left their bows and arrows; whereat they were amazed, and two of them began to slink away, but that the other called them. When they took their arrows we bade them farewell, and they were glad; and so, with many thanks given us, they departed, with promise they would come again.

'Monday and Tuesday proved fair days. We digged our grounds and sowed our garden seeds.

'Wednesday, a fine warm day. We sent away Samoset.

'That day we had again a meeting to conclude of

laws and orders for ourselves, and to confirm those military orders that were formerly propounded, and twice broken off by the savages' coming. But so we were again the third time; for after we had been an hour together, on the top of the hill over against us, two or three savages presented themselves, that made semblance of daring us, as we thought. So Captain Standish with another, with their muskets, went over to them, with two of the master's mates that follows them without arms, having two muskets with them. They whetted and rubbed their arrows and strings, and made show of defiance; but when our men drew near them, they ran away. Thus were we again interrupted by them. This day, with much ado, we got our carpenter, that had been long sick of the scurvy, to fit our shallop to fetch all from aboard.

'Thursday, the 22d of March, was a very fair, warm day. About noon we met again about our public business. But we had scarce been an hour together, but Samoset came again, and Squanto, the only native of Patuxet, where we now inhabit, who was one of the twenty captives that by Hunt were carried away, and had been in England, and dwelt in Cornhill with Master John Slanie, a merchant, and could speak a little English, with three others; and they brought with them some few skins to truck, and some red herrings, newly taken and dried, but not salted; and signified unto us that their great sagamore, Massasoyt, was hard by, with Quadequina,

his brother, and all their men. They could not well express in English what they would; but after an hour the king came to the top of a hill over against us, and had in his train sixty men, that we could well behold them, and they us. We were not willing to send our governor to them, and they were unwilling to come to us. So Squanto went again unto him, who brought word that we should send one to parley with him, which we did, which was Edward Winsloe, to know his mind, and to signify the mind and will of our governor, which was to have trading and peace with him. We sent to the king a pair of knives, and a copper chain with a jewel at it. To Quadequina we sent likewise a knife, and a jewel to hang in his ear, and withal a pot of strong water, a good quantity of biscuit, and some butter; which were all willingly accepted.

'Our messenger made a speech unto him, that King James saluted him with words of love and peace, and did accept of him as his friend and ally; and that our governor desired to see him and to truck with him, and to confirm a peace with him, as his next neighbour. He liked well of the speech, and heard it attentively, though the interpreters did not well express it. After he had eaten and drunk himself, and given the rest to his company, he looked upon our messenger's sword and armor, which he had on, with intimation of his desire to buy it; but, on the other side, our messenger showed his unwillingness to part with it. In the end, he left him in the custody

of Quadequina, his brother, and came over the brook, and some twenty men followed him, leaving all their bows and arrows behind them. We kept six or seven as hostages for our messenger. Captain Standish and Master Williamson met the king at the brook, with half a dozen musketeers. They saluted him, and he them; so one going over, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, conducted him to a house then in building, where we placed a green rug and three or four cushions. Then instantly came our governor, with drum and trumpet after him, and some few musketeers. After salutations, our governor kissing his hand, the king kissed him; and so they sat down. The governor called for some strong water, and drunk to him; and he drunk a great draught, that made him sweat all the while after. He called for a little fresh meat, which the king did eat willingly, and did give his followers. Then they treated of peace, which was:

'1. That neither he nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of our people.

'2. And if any of his did hurt to any of ours, he should send the offender, that we might punish him.

'3. That if any of our tools were taken away, when our people were at work, he should cause them to be restored; and if ours did any harm to any of his, we would do the like to them.

'4. If any did unjustly war against him, we would aid him; if any did war against us, he should aid us.

'5. He should send to his neighbour confederates

to certify them of this, that they might not wrong us, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.

'6. That when their men came to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we should do our pieces when we came to them.

'Lastly, that doing thus, King James would esteem of him as his friend and ally.

'All which the King seemed to like well, and it was applauded of his followers. All the while he sat by the governor, he trembled for fear. In his person he is a very lusty man, in his best years, an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech; in his attire little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, only in a great chain of white bone beads about his neck; and at it, behind his neck, hangs a little bag of tobacco, which he drank, and gave us to drink. His face was painted with a sad red, like murrey, and oiled both head and face, that he looked greasily. All his followers likewise were in their faces, in part or in whole, painted, some black, some red, some yellow, and some white, some with crosses, and other antic works; some had skins on them, and some naked; all strong, tall men in appearance.

'So after all was done, the governor conducted him to the brook, and there they embraced each other, and he departed; we diligently keeping our hostages. We expected our messenger's coming; but anon word was brought us that Quadequina was coming, and our messenger was stayed till his return; who

presently came, and a troop with him. So likewise we entertained him, and conveyed him to the place prepared. He was very fearful of our pieces, and made signs of dislike, that they should be carried away; whereupon commandment was given they should be laid away. He was a very proper, tall young man, of a very modest and seemly countenance, and he did kindly like of our entertainment. So we conveyed him likewise, as we did the king; but divers of their people stayed still. When he was returned, then they dismissed our messenger. Two of his people would have stayed all night; but we would not suffer it. One thing I forgot; the king had in his bosom, hanging in a string, a great long knife. He marvelled much at our trumpet, and some of his men would sound it as well as they could. Samoset and Squanto, they stayed all night with us; and the king and all his men lay all night in the woods not above half an English mile from us, and all their wives and women with them. They said that within eight or nine days they would come and set corn on the other side of the brook, and dwell there all summer; which is hard by us. That night we kept good watch; but there was no appearance of danger.

'The next morning, divers of their people came over to us, hoping to get some victuals, as we imagined. Some of them told us the king would have some of us come see him. Captain Standish and Isaac Alderton went venturously, who were wel-

comed of him after their manner. He gave them three or four ground-nuts and some tobacco. We cannot yet conceive but that he is willing to have peace with us; for they have seen our people sometimes alone two or three in the woods at work and fowling, whenas they offered them no harm, as they might easily have done; and especially because he hath a potent adversary, the Narowhigansets, that are at war with him, against whom he thinks we may be some strength to him; for our pieces are terrible unto them. This morning they staid till ten or eleven of the clock; and our governor bid them send the king's kettle, and filled it full of pease, which pleased them well; and so they went their way.

'Friday was a very fair day. Samoset and Squanto still remained with us. Squanto went at noon to fish for eels. At night he came home with as many as he could well lift in one hand; which our people were glad of; they were fat and sweet. He trod them out with his feet, and so caught them with his hands, without any other instrument.

'This day we proceeded on with our common business, from which we had been so often hindered by the salvages' coming; and concluded both of military orders and of some laws and orders as we thought behooveful for our present estate and condition; and did likewise choose our governor for this year, which was Master John Carver, a man well approved among us.' (*See Appendix, C.*)

CHAPTER VIII.

The visit of Winslow and Hopkins to Pokanoket — arrival of the Ship Fortune — Edward Winslow's letter to George Morton.

The preceding chapter contains the most minute account on record, of the daily transactions immediately after the landing of the Pilgrims, penned by one or more of their own number, and enables us in some good degree, to identify ourselves with the hopes, fears, and labors, incident to that eventful period of their history.

The appearance of Samoset, was not only an unexpected occurrence, but one of great importance to the pilgrims, previous to which, no intercourse had occurred between them and the surrounding natives. The *first encounter* at Nauset, (Eastham,) had doubtless left an unfavorable impression on the minds of the savages, and could not have failed, strongly to excite their hostility against those who were doubtless regarded in no better light than as lawless intruders.

The treacherous conduct of Hunt, some years before, in the abduction of several Indians belonging to Nauset, had inspired an indignation, which at last burst upon the unoffending heads of the pilgrims. This rencounter was unquestionably blazoned abroad, throughout the whole Indian country, with a

celerity peculiar to the habits of the race, and probably soon reached the ears of Massassoit, with such additions to plain matter of fact, as are not peculiar to savage life. The uncertainty of the Indians as to the numbers and strength of the pilgrims, and the dread inspired by the use of fire arms, probably induced them to preserve a cautious reserve, for more than three months. During this time the pilgrims were struggling through every variety of difficulty and suffering, to provide a shelter for themselves and their families, and might have become an easy prey to any hostile effort against them. Before their habitations had been sufficiently secured against the inclemency of winter, many from previous exposure were seized with sickness and died. In their feeble state, ignorant of the power, fearful of renewed hostility from the Indians, who shall attempt to describe their hour of agony.

At this moment of painful suspense and apprehension of thick coming dangers, with what indescribable emotions of joy, did the pilgrim, as he walked forth in the morning of that day, to resume the labor of defensive preparation, hear the first sounds of friendly salutation, when Samoset boldly approaching the humble dwellings, called aloud, 'Welcome! welcome Englishman!' It little mattered that Indian proficiency, had mastered only some broken fragments of the English tongue, the tones of welcome, were the sounds of rapture, and needed no medium of polished phrase to reach the heart. The interview

was full of interest, and its consequences proved highly beneficial. The information obtained from Samoset, respecting the situation, numbers, and internal relations of the surrounding tribes, afforded the best means of regulating their future policy and intercourse with the numerous tribes by which they were surrounded. The next event of greatest importance was the visit to Massassoit. This measure was recommended by sound policy, as the best means to obtain a knowledge of the country, and by returning the visit of Massassoit, to confirm the bonds of amity which had commenced under the most favorable auspices, in the previous month of March, and which eventually, probably saved the Colony from destruction.

This important mission was entrusted to the joint charge of Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins. These individuals, with Tisquantum, who having some knowledge of English, could act as interpreter, were instructed to present Massassoit with a coat as a token of friendship — to arrange respecting the visits of his people to Plymouth — and to offer ample restitution to his subjects for the corn which had been taken from Cape Cod in the preceding month of November.

The special provision contained in the instructions to Winslow and Hopkins, with reference to the corn taken from Cape Cod, should attract the attention of that class of critics, whether historical or otherwise, whose sensibility of conscience, has been so much

shocked, at an act, justified by necessity, and performed at the time, with a sincere purpose of restitution, which was tendered and accepted, upon the first occasion that offered.

The messengers left Plymouth about nine o'clock on Tuesday morning, July 3d. On the way, they met ten or twelve men, women and children, who according to their customary wandering life, had resorted to the sea shore for lobsters and other shell fish, and now returned with them to Namasket,* where they arrived at about three o'clock in the afternoon. They were kindly received by the Indians at Namasket, and were entertained in the best manner consistent with the habits of savage life. They were supplied with bread, called by the Indians *Maizium*, (Indian Corn) and the spawn of shad, of which latter they had an abundance.

Complaint was made by the Indians of the great damage they had sustained from the depredations of the crows in their corn-fields, and one of the messengers, by request, shot off his musket, and killed several of them, much to their admiration.

Tisquantum, having intimated the difficulty of

* In a letter received from the late Thomas Bennet, Esq., he observes, 'The Indian path from Namasket to Plymouth road, crossed the Namasket River, where the bridge now is half a mile from Middleborough Four Corners, and near Pierce & Woods factory, (this was the wading place) and ran nearly as the road now does, to Philip's Spring, a little distance back of the meeting house on Carver Green.'

reaching Pokanoket * in one day, advised them to proceed about 8 miles further, where better provision might be obtained, to which place they arrived about sunset, and found several Namasket Indians fishing at a wear.† They were gladly received, and a contribution of provision from both parties, supplied an ample repast. Here they spent the night, lodging in the open air, there being no wigwams or other accommodation.

The next morning, after breakfast, accompanied by six Indians, they continued their journey about six miles along the river to a 'known shoal place,‡ where they were advised to throw off their garments to render fording the river more convenient. Here they encountered two aged savages on the opposite side, disposed to contest their passage across the river, but on ascertaining that they were friends, desisted, and very promptly rendered them every assistance in their power.

The Indians in company were quite attentive to the travelers, kindly offering to carry their pieces and clothes, and even to convey them over the streams where no bridges existed in that early day. Traces of former habitations and extensive cornfields were

* This was the Indian name applied to the country now embraced within the limits of Bristol, Warren, and Barrington in Rhode Island, and part of Swanzey and Sekonk in Massachusetts.

† This place is near the village of Titicut, on Taunton river, in the north west part of Middleborough, and was formerly called the Old Indian wear.

‡ Baylies says in vol. 1, page 75, 'this place is near the new forge, on Taunton River, about three miles from the Green.'

found on the borders of the river, where the Indians had fallen victims to the plague which raged so fatally a few years before the Pilgrims arrived.

Stopping at a town of Massasoit's on the way, they were regaled with oysters and other fish, and from thence arrived at Pokanocket.* Massasoit being absent, was notified of their arrival, and soon made his appearance, and was received by the messengers with a salute from their pieces. Massasoit received his visitors very kindly and invited them to his house. After delivering the message from their Governor, and the presents by which it was accompanied, they placed the chain on his neck, and the coat on his back, at which he and his men appeared much delighted.

Massasoit in reply to the message, bid them welcome, expressed his desire for the preservation of peace with the English, and promised so to regulate the intercourse of his subjects with Plymouth, as to prevent further annoyance from them in future. He then called his men around him, addressed them in a long speech, urging them to a peaceful course, and requiring them to trade with the English, and after naming thirty different places of trade, and receiving answers of approbation from those present, the interview ended.

* The residence of Massasoit at this time was at *Sowams*, now Warren in Rhode Island. Dr. Morse in the 5th octavo vol. of his Geography, 1805, in a description of Warren says, 'This was also the dwelling place of Massasoit. His spring, near the margin of the river still bears his name.' *See His. of Warren by G. W. Fessenden.*

The next day many of his sachems and subjects, visited the dwelling of Massasoit and practiced their customary games for knives and skins, the rage for gambling being a well known characteristic of the Indian race. On this occasion one of the messengers shooting, by request, at a mark, it excited much wonder among the Indians when they perceived the holes produced by the hail shot with which the musket was charged.

But notwithstanding the extent of Massasoit's dominions, the fare presented to his English friends upon this occasion, was extremely meagre, and far from corresponding with the dignity of royal authority, two boiled fish being the main articles comprised in the bill of fare, of which forty persons were to partake. Scanty fare, bad lodging, and a desire to reach home before the next Sabbath, induced them to take leave of Massasoit, and to decline his urgent solicitations to prolong their visit, which were accompanied at parting with many regrets for his inability to afford them better entertainment. Tisquantum remained with Massasoit with a view to visit the neighboring tribes and make arrangements for future trade, and Tokamahamon, was appointed in his place, who had previously been found faithful, and never afterwards deceived them. They commenced their journey home, following the same route by which they came, and arrived at Plymouth on Saturday evening, after an absence of five days, exhausted by fatigue, hunger, and storms of rain.

This visit produced the most favorable results to the colony. It led to a better knowledge of the surrounding country, extended their acquaintance with the natives, and greatly enlarged the sphere of their traffic.

Soon after this an expedition of ten men was fitted out to recover a boy, John Billington, who having been lost in the woods for several days, wandered from one place to another, subsisting upon berries. Enquiries were made among the natives, and Massasoit informed the English, that the boy was at Nauset. He had been absent wandering about for five days, and then reached a place called Manomet, twenty miles south of Plymouth, and from thence was conveyed to the Nausites on Cape Cod.

Towards the latter part of July, the shallop got under way, having ten men on board, with Tisquantum as interpreter, and Tokamahamon, a special Indian friend. In a short time after leaving the harbor, they were overtaken by a storm, which induced them to anchor at Cummaquid, (Barnstable) and spend the night.

In the morning they discovered savages on shore, and sending their two interpreters, ascertained that the lost boy was well and at Nauset. Receiving an invitation, they visited the Sachem of Cummaquid, named Jyanough, a man not more that twenty-six years old, 'but gentle, courteous, fair conditioned, indeed not like a savage, save for his attire. His entertainment was answerable to his parts, and his cheer ample and various.'

On this occasion they met with an old Indian woman supposed to be more than one hundred years old, who had never seen the English before, but at sight of them burst into the most violent exclamations of grief and indignation. This arose from the fact that some years before, when Capt. Hunt visited the country, her son went on board his ship, and was carried a captive to Spain, in company with Tisquantum. She was pacified at last by means of gentle words, and a few small presents. In the afternoon they proceeded to Nauset in company with Jyanough and two of his men, where they arrived just before evening. They succeeded in recovering the lost boy, and received him from the hands of Aspinet, the Sachem of Nauset, by whom he had been plentifully ornamented with beads.

At this place they received information that Massassoit had been captured by the Naragansets, which induced them to hasten their return, justly fearing that Plymouth might be in danger, when so few were left for its defence. The whole number of able-bodied men at this time was only nineteen, and ten of these were absent on the expedition to Nauset, leaving only nine at home. They were obliged to put in at Cummaquid on their return, where they received from the 'courteous Sachem Jyanough, the most hospitable attentions.'

On returning from Nauset, the rumors respecting Massassoit were confirmed, intelligence having been received that Corbitant, one of his Sachems, in secret

conjunction with the Naragansetts had arrived at Namasket, and was aiming to seduce the Indians of that place from their allegiance. He expressed the most violent indignation towards the English, on account of the peace they had recently made at Nauset, and abused Tisquantum, Hobbamock, and Tokamahamon by whose friendly instrumentality it had principally been effected. Tisquantum and Hobbomack having privately repaired to Namasket to ascertain the true state of affairs in that quarter, were discovered by Corbitant, who guarded the house in which they lodged, seized Tisquantum, and threatened Hobbamock, the latter escaping however, by means of his great strength and skill, arrived at Plymouth in safety, with this alarming intelligence. In consequence of this high-handed measure on the part of Corbitant, ten men were dispatched to Namasket on the 15th of August, under the command of Capt. Miles Standish, with Hobbamock for a guide. They arrived at the house of Corbitant about midnight, and found him absent. This unexpected attack produced great consternation among the savages, some of whom were wounded in attempting to escape. In the morning Capt. Standish marched into the Town, where he met the friendly Indians, and found that Corbitant and his adherents had fled, alarmed no doubt, at the decisive course of Standish and those under his charge. Having expressed fully, the object of the expedition to Namasket, and a desire for continued peace, they departed for Plymouth, taking

in charge one man and a woman who had been wounded.

Though the rumor respecting the seizure of Massassoit by the Narragansetts proved unfounded, the expedition under Standish, by its intrepid course of action, produced the most salutary effects, and induced the surrounding tribes to submission, not excepting Corbitant himself, who solicited the friendly interference of Massassoit, to effect a reconciliation with the government of Plymouth.

The preceding narrative conclusively shows, that notwithstanding the wasting sickness of the winter, the small number that survived that awful calamity, upon the return of spring, engaged with great zeal and industry, in the various pursuits required by the peculiar circumstances of their condition. They had during the spring and summer accomplished a great work. They had established a government, on the basis of freedom, had secured peace with the surrounding tribes, whose first signal had been that of open hostility; had in the most intrepid manner, quelled a threatened war with their neighbors; and had opened a profitable traffic in various directions. The prospects of the colony were highly favorable. On the 9th of November, a vessel, the Fortune, of 55 tons burthen, arrived from England with thirty-five passengers; an arrival not less joyful than unexpected to the remnant which had so nobly maintained their post through the heavy pressure of unparalleled sufferings.

The Fortune sailed from London early in July, but could not clear the English channel till the end of August, which accounts for her long passage.

The condition and prospects of the colony at this time, are fully described in a letter from Edward Winslow, subsequently Governor of the colony, directed, as is supposed, to George Morton, then in England, who arrived in the Ann in 1623. This letter bears date, Dec. 11, 1621, and was sent in the Fortune, which vessel returned to England on the 13th of that month. That part of the letter having particular reference to the principal occurrences in the colony, from the time of the landing, will doubtless be interesting to the reader, and is as follows :

December 11*th*, 1621.

'LOVING AND OLD FRIEND :

'Although I received no letter from you by this ship, yet forasmuch as I know you expect the performance of my promise, which was to write unto you truly and faithfully of all things, I have therefore at this time, sent unto you accordingly, referring you for further satisfaction, to our more large relations.

'You shall understand that in this little time, that a few of us have been here, we have built seven dwelling houses, and four for the use of the plantation, and have made preparations for divers others. We set last spring some twenty acres of Indian corn, and sowed some six acres of barley and pease; and according to the manner of the Indians, we manured

one ground with herrings or rather shad,* which we have in great abundance, and take with great ease at our doors. Our corn did prove well; and God be praised, we had a good increase of Indian corn, and our barley indifferent good, but our pease not worth gathering, for we feared they were too late sown. They came up very well and blossomed, but the sun parched them in the blossom.

'Our harvest being gotten in, our governor sent four men on fowling, that so we might, after a special manner, rejoice together after we had gathered the fruit of our labors.† They four in one day killed as much fowl as, with a little help beside, served the company for a week. At which time amongst other recreations, we exercised our arms, many of the Indians coming amongst us, and among the rest, their greatest king, Massasoyt, with some ninety men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted, and they went out and killed five deer, which they brought to the plantation, and bestowed upon the captain and others. And although it be not always so plentiful as it was at this time with us, yet by the goodness of God, we are so far from want that we wish you partakers of our plenty.

'We have found the Indians very faithful in their covenant of peace with us, very loving, and ready to pleasure us. We often go to them, and they come to us. Some of us have been fifty miles by land, in

* Alewives are here probably intended.

† The first Thanksgiving of New England.

the country with them, the occasions and relations whereof, you shall understand by our more full declaration of such things as are worth the noting. Yea, it hath pleased God so to possess the Indians with a fear of us and love unto us, that not only the greatest king amongst them, called Massasoyt, but also all the princes and peoples round about us, have either made suit unto us, or been glad of any occasion to make peace with us; so that seven of them at once have sent messengers to us to that end. Yea, an ile at sea, which we never saw, hath also, together with the former, yielded willingly to be under the protection and subject to our sovereign lord, King James. So that there is now great peace among the Indians themselves, which was not formerly, neither would have been for us; and we for our parts, walk as peaceably and safely in the wood as in the highway of England. We entertain them familiarly in our houses, and they as friendly bestowing their venison on us. Our supply of men came from you the 9th of November, 1621, putting in at Cape Cod, some eight or ten leagues from us. The Indians that dwell there about, were they who were owners of the corn which we found in caves, for which we have given them full content, and are in great league with them. They sent us word there was a ship near unto them, but thought it to be a Frenchman; and indeed for ourselves, we expected not a friend so soon. But when we perceived that she made for our bay, the governor commanded a piece to be shot off, to call

home such as were abroad at work. Whereupon every man, yea boy, that could handle a gun, were ready with full resolution that, if she were an enemy, we would stand in our just defence, not fearing them. But God provided better for us than we supposed. These came all in health, not any being sick by the way, otherwise than by sea sickness, and so continue to this day by the blessing of God.

'When it pleaseth God we are settled and fitted for the fishing business and other trading, I doubt not by the blessing of God the gain will give content to all. In the meantime that we have gotten, we have sent by this ship, and though it be not much, yet it will witness for us that we have not been idle, considering the smallness of our numbers all this summer. We hope the merchants will accept of it, and be encouraged to furnish us with all things needful for further employment, which will also encourage us to put forth ourselves to the uttermost.

E. W.'

The Fortune sailed for London on the 13th of December. Mr. Robert Cushman returned in her, to manage the concerns of the colony, with the merchant adventurers, and she was freighted with two hogsheads of beam-clapboards and sassafras, estimated as worth five hundred pounds.

Soon after her departure, the governor and his

assistant, Isaac Allerton, disposed the late comers into several families. As the Fortune had brought no supply of provisions for the colony, the increased number to be supported, and the small amount on hand, rendered it of the first importance to guard in season against approaching want. Upon enquiry it was ascertained that the supplies on hand would not last six months at half allowance, and the whole company were put upon half allowance, 'which they bear patiently.'

In addition to the apprehension of famine, the Indians in various parts of the country, particularly the powerful tribe of the Narragansetts, notwithstanding the peace concluded the previous summer, manifested a hostile spirit. Observing the increased number of settlers, and their scanty means of subsistence, they regarded the present occasion as favorable for commencing hostilities, which might eventually lead to their extermination. The early and firm friendship established between the Pilgrims and Massassoit, had long been a source of jealousy to the Narragansetts, and doubtless had obstructed the ambitious views of Canonicus, the distinguished chief of that tribe.

In January 1622, a messenger in company with Tokamahamon, arrived at Plymouth from Canonicus, and enquiring for Tisquantum who was then absent, left a bundle of new arrows, wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake, wishing to depart immediately; but Gov. Bradford not fully comprehending his strange demea-

nor, committed him to the custody of Capt. Standish, in hopes that further information might be obtained from him. His answers to the enquiries made, were reluctant and partial, but implied that the Narragansetts were enemies to the English, and that Canonicus had taken offence through the misrepresentations of one concerned in the settlement of peace, the preceding summer. The messenger was then released and ordered to return for answer to Canonicus, that the government of Plymouth had heard of his repeated threats, and were prepared to encounter his hostility.

When Tisquantum returned, and saw the arrows, and heard in what manner the messenger had conducted, he informed the Governor, that to send the Rattlesnake's skin in such a manner, implied enmity, and was a challenge. The governor then stuffed the skin with powder and shot, and returned it to Canonicus in the same tone of defiance, but he refused to receive it, or even touch the powder and shot, or suffer it to remain in the country, and it passed through several hands till it eventually reached Plymouth from whence it came.

Notwithstanding the high tone of defiance, assumed by the government of Plymouth, towards Canonicus, it was deemed expedient, considering their weakness, forthwith to prepare more efficient means of defence, in case his threats should terminate in open hostility. In the month of February the town was impaled, and Capt. Standish divided all that were capable of bearing arms into four squadrons, assigning them to

different stations, and the town assumed a more military aspect than it had ever exhibited before.

After these military preparations were completed, which doubtless had a tendency to repress the threatened Indian hostilities, it was decided to visit the Massachusets again, according to a previous promise, for the purpose of traffic in furs. Hobbamock, the undeviating friend of the English, informed them of his fears, that the Massachusets and Narragansetts were engaged in a confederacy, and would probably take the occasion, should they go on this intended expedition, to cut off Capt. Standish and his men, and intimated that Tisquantum was concerned in the plot. Notwithstanding the counsel of Hobbamock, it was determined to undertake the expedition, and Capt. Standish with ten men, having Tisquantum and Hobbamock in company, sailed in March for the Massachusets, but had proceeded no farther than the gurnet's nose, when they were recalled by three alarm guns from the fort, which induced them forthwith to return.

On reaching town they found every man on his guard in expectation of an attack from the Indians, and it appeared that soon after their departure, one of Tisquantum's family, came running into the town, having his face wounded, and the blood flowing, often turning behind as if fearing some one in pursuit. He affirmed that many Narragansetts, with Massassoit and Corbitant, were at Namasket, intending to embrace the opportunity, while Standish was absent, to as-

sault the town, and further declared, that he had received his wounds in venturing to speak in behalf of the English.

Upon learning this statement of affairs, Hobbamock pronounced it entirely false, and vouched for the fidelity of Massassoit; presuming that he would never have engaged in such a measure without his knowledge, it being customary before undertaking such enterprises, to consult his chief counsellors or *pinese*, of which he was one. A messenger, the wife of Hobbamock, was privately dispatched to visit Pokanoket, to ascertain the true state of affairs in that quarter.

On arriving there, she perceived that all was quiet, and having an interview with Massassoit, informed him of the occurrences at Plymouth. He was much offended at the conduct of Tisquantum, highly gratified at the favorable opinion entertained of him by the government of Plymouth, tendering the assurance that according to their first articles of peace, he would inform them, whenever danger was at hand.

This whole affair may justly be considered a scheme of Tisquantum, originating in a vain desire of manifesting his own importance, and to promote his own selfish purposes. He probably did not foresee the consequences which might naturally have been expected to result from the false alarm which he had occasioned.

He had previously proved highly useful to the colony, and after a sharp reproof administered by the

governor, it was concluded to retain him, his services being regarded as of indispensable importance, both as an interpreter and guide.

In the month of April, the suspended voyage to Massachusets was undertaken, and successfully accomplished, having resulted in much profitable trade.

Upon the return of this expedition, Massassoit was found waiting at Plymouth, having been justly incensed by the deception of Tisquantum, but was pacified for the present.

Soon after his departure however, he sent a messenger, earnestly requesting that Tisquantum might be delivered up to receive the punishment of death. The messenger departed, and soon after another embassy arrived, demanding him for Massassoit, as one of his subjects, whom by the articles of peace, he had a right to claim. They had brought the knife of Massassoit with them, having received orders to cut off the head and hands of Tisquantum, and return with them to Pokanoket. At the moment when Gov. Bradford was about to deliver Tisquantum into the hands of his executioners, a boat was discovered in the bay near Manomet, which afforded a pretence for a postponement of the matter for the present, and the Indian messengers hastily departed, indignant at their disappointment, while Tisquantum whose chance of safety had become so desperate, thus fortunately escaped with his life.

About the end of May 1822, their provisions were

wholly spent, though they had for a long time been living on a short and bare allowance, occasioned by the increased number of emigrants who had arrived in the Fortune. At this time a boat was discovered approaching the highland of Manomet, which proved to be a shallop, which belonged to a fishing ship called the Sparow, fitted out by Thomas Weston, merchant of London, having six or seven passengers, who should have been before landed at Plymouth. At this time about thirty vessels were employed in the fisheries at the eastward, and Edward Winslow visited that region, with a view to procure provisions. He met with the most friendly and cordial reception, but could obtain only moderate supplies, on account of their own limited stock, furnished however freely and without payment; which though of small amount, among so many as were depending on it at the plantation, was of essential aid till the crops of the ensuing autumn were gathered. On the return of Mr. Winslow from the eastward, he found the colony in a much weaker condition than at his departure, and the prospects of the Colony wore an alarming aspect. The Indians observing their destitute condition, rejoiced in their distress, and often intimated, how easily their extermination might be affected. Even Massassoit, their old friend, 'seemed now to frown on them,' and discontinued his accustomed visits.

These considerations led to the erection of a fort on the hill, which had been previously enclosed within their empalement, from which a small number

might defend the town in case of assault from the Indians. This work was commenced with spirit, prosecuted with great energy, and speedily accomplished, though not without great inconvenience to their other pursuits.

CHAPTER IX.

Arrival of Weston's Colony in the Charity and Swan, 1622 — Their stay in Plymouth, and conduct there — Their removal to Wessaguscus — Gov. Bradford and Standish visit Cape Cod for supplies of corn — Sickness of Massassoit — Conspiracy of the Indians — Standish's departure to Wessaguscus — Dissolution of Weston's Colony.

The arrival of two ships from London, namely, the Charity and the Swan, having on board about sixty passengers, marks an interesting point in the early annals of the Colony, and was succeeded by events of great importance, intimately connected with its very existence. These vessels were owned and equipped by Thomas Weston of London, with a view to the settlement of a colony distinct from that of Plymouth, and the passengers on landing were received by the planters in the most friendly manner, notwithstanding their own destitute condition. The early zeal of Mr. Weston by whom the transportation of the Pilgrims in 1620, was greatly facilitated, had inspired them with gratitude, and a consequent disposition to render the temporary residence of his men among them, as favorable as their limited resources would allow; but these efforts were by no means

received with a corresponding spirit on the part of men, whose reckless character, possessed no elements adapting them to become the founders of a colony. On the contrary, they soon betrayed a manifest deficiency of those virtues without which society and government become a curse, instead of a blessing. The scanty store of corn, saved from the compulsory abstinence of the colonists, previous to the arrival of the ships, was carelessly wasted, and even the growing fields of corn were invaded and robbed, to an extent, endangering the anticipated crop of autumn, while injurious slanders were uttered, implicating the character of those, whose hospitality supplied their wants, at the cost of restricting their own.

This conduct appears to have been patiently endured, and charitably excused by the planters of Plymouth, and would probably never have come into remembrance, had a sense of justice and decorum, manifested in their subsequent deportment, given any evidence of a permanent improvement in their morals.

Those who had undertaken to explore the country at last returned, having visited a place called by the Indians Wessaguscus,* (now Weymouth,) and deeming it a fit place of settlement, the whole colony em-

* A correspondent of Quincy thus describes the place. 'It is about three miles south east of the granite Church in Quincy, at a place locally called Old Spain. Weston's colony sailed up Fore river, which seperates Quincy from Weymouth, and then entered Phillips Creek, and commenced operations on its north bank.'

barked, leaving only the sick and lame, who under the charge of Samuel Fuller, the surgeon of Plymouth, soon afterwards recovered and rejoined them.

A short time only had elapsed after their arrival at Wessagusens, before the Indians in that quarter, uttered loud complaints respecting their newly arrived neighbors, and the colony at Plymouth, while they reprobated a conduct marked by gross injustice to the Indians, and in striking contrast to that of their own, were justly alarmed, lest it might reflect discredit on themselves, and expose both colonies to the indiscriminate indignation of their Indian neighbors, and endanger the good understanding previously existing among them.

In the beginning of October, the larger vessel belonging to Mr. Weston, sailed for London. A good supply of provisions was left for the colony, and the smaller vessel called the Swan, remained for purposes of trade and fishing. At the solicitation of the colony at Wessagusens, a mutual arrangement was made for trade with the natives, principally designed to procure supplies of corn; and Captain Standish twice embarked for this purpose, but was driven back by storms, and was afterwards prevented by sickness from pursuing the voyage.

Under these circumstances, Gov. Bradford, perceiving the necessity of supplies for the colonies, and the danger of an insufficient crop, owing to the previous diversion of labor from agricultural pursuits, to the preparations required for security against appre

hended hostilities from the Indians, voluntarily assumed the place of Capt. Standish, and successfully accomplished the object in view.

In the month of Nov. he visited Monamoycke, (Chatham,) on the south side of Cape Cod, and though the natives were at first reserved, in their intercourse, the friendly offices of Tisquantum soon induced a better feeling, and 8 hogsheads of corn were obtained in exchange for other articles. Here a heavy loss was sustained in the death of Tisquantum, who was suddenly seized with violent sickness, and died in a short time after. The loss of this invaluable guide and interpreter, rendered it necessary to return to Wessaguscus, where the governor found many complaints renewed against the conduct of Weston's colony.

The next excursion of the governor was to Nauset, and Mattachiest, at both of which places he was received with every token of friendly regard, procured a considerable stock of corn, which was left in charge of the Indians, and concluded thence to return by land to Plymouth, a distance of 50 miles, having Hobbamock for his guide.

Eanacum, the Sachem of Manomet, at which place he stopped on his way home, entertained the governor with great hospitality, and furnished him with corn, which was left there till such time as it could be conveniently removed. The governor then returned to Plymouth, having gained much information of the natives, and procured supplies of great importance to the colony.

In the month of Jan. 1623, Captain Standish, having recovered his health, proceeded to Nauset, recovered the shallop which had been formerly stranded there, found the corn which had been left was safe, loaded the same on board the Swan, and dividing it with Weston's men, returned to Plymouth.

In the month of March, he engaged in another expedition to Barnstable and Manomet. While at the latter place, his life was endangered by several Indians who had resorted there, among whom was Wituwamet, a noted warrior of the Massachusets, who addressed the sachem Canacum in a manner indicating his hostility to the English, at which time concurring circumstances leave but little doubt, that the project of exterminating both colonies, was in progress, which was afterwards more fully shown by the disclosures of Massassoit.

While Capt. Standish was at Manomet, information was received at Plymouth, that Massassoit, the early and valued friend of the Pilgrims, was dangerously sick, and that a Dutch ship was on shore near his dwelling.

Edward Winslow was appointed to visit the Sachem on this occasion, and in company with John Hampden, a gentleman of London, who was spending the winter at Plymouth,* having Hobbamock for a guide.

* It was for a long time conjectured by historians, that this individual was the celebrated English patriot. Dr. Young in his Chronicles of the pilgrims, page 314, has satisfactorily shown that this conjecture is without any just foundation.

On arriving at Sowams, the seat of Massassoit, they found him surrounded by a large number of his people, and the press was so great as to render it difficult to approach his bed. ' There were they in the midst of their charms, making such a hellish noise, as it distempered them that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick.' When their charming had ceased, he was informed that his friends the English, had come to see him. His understanding was perfect, but his sight was gone. He desired to speak with Winslow, and said, 'Art thou Winslow!' and exclaimed, ' O, Winslow, I shall never see thee again.'

The applications of Winslow, were happily successful, soon restored Massassoit to health, and no event could well be conceived more favorable to the colony. It excited sentiments of the most ardent gratitude in the mind of this excellent chief, which led him to a full disclosure of the conspiracy then in progress to exterminate both the colonies of Plymouth and of Wessaguscus. This disclosure was made privately to Hobbamock, and by him communicated to Winslow on their return to Plymouth. The entire narrative of this visit to Massassoit, written by Winslow himself, is highly interesting, and indicates his true character. His humanity towards the Indians, upon all occasions, secured the confidence of Massassoit, and was probably the means of saving the colony of Plymouth from utter extermination.

The disclosures of Massassoit, in conjunction with

other circumstances observable among the neighboring tribes, rendered it no longer doubtful that a project was entertained of destroying the English, whenever a favorable moment should occur for its execution. Long before the visit to Massassoit, complaints were continually made, by the Indians at Wessagusens, and by some of the best standing among the colonists themselves, not only of the mean and disgraceful conduct pursued towards the natives, but of the abject condition to which a licentious and indolent course had reduced them. A tolerable share of industry would have sufficed to render their condition comfortable; but this was wanting, and consequent want assailed them, leading to a contempt for the rights of others, manifested in acts of theft, and that general disregard of moral and religious principle, without which, society becomes a loose, disjointed fabric, destined to speedy destruction.

This course of conduct produced its legitimate consequences, and at the end of February 1623, their bread and corn were exhausted without any reservation of seed for planting in the succeeding spring, and such were the feelings of indignation existing against them among the neighboring Indians, that nothing could be obtained in that quarter. This state of affairs at one time led to the desperate resolution of seizing whatever could be found, in total disregard of the rights of ownership. This resolution however, was overruled by advice of the better disposed amongst them, and recourse was had to Plymouth

for counsel in this hour of difficulty. The reply of Plymouth was decisive and wholly discountenanced the course of violence proposed to be adopted in relation to the seizure of provisions, belonging to the Indians. The inhabitants of Plymouth were themselves at this time scantily supplied with corn, and compelled to live on ground-nuts, clams, and other natural products within their reach, and they advised their neighbors to rely on the same resources, rather than violate the laws of God and nature, in the manner proposed — at the same time warning them to desist from proceedings which would inevitably produce a feeling of dangerous hostility against both themselves and others.

They were further advised to consider their own weak condition, and the danger of failure in their defence against the combined power of the Natives, and that no aid would be afforded by Plymouth colony, in such an unlawful undertaking.

This remonstrance was promptly forwarded to Wessaguscus, and induced a suspension of the violent measures proposed, and John Saunders, their leader, embarked about the end of February, to the eastward in quest of supplies, without any knowledge of the dangerous conspiracy then in agitation.

The twenty-third of March, 1623, was the annual Court day, and upon this occasion, the governor, having abundant evidence of the purposed attack upon the colonies, submitted the subject for consideration to the whole company, urging the importance

of a prompt decision upon a question involving the existence of the colony.

The decision of this question was a source of great anxiety. The course of the pilgrims towards the natives from the first moment of their landing, had been governed by a just regard to their rights, and an earnest endeavor to procure their favor, by a strict observance of justice and equity, which had happily been instrumental in establishing relations of peace, now threatened with interruption, from causes which they had vainly sought to remove or to counteract. Nor could they disguise the fact, that their neighbors at Wessaguscus had given just occasion for the indignation of the Indians, now evidently arrived at a point of excitement, beyond the power of control, except by means of the most decided character, which however reluctantly adopted, were under the circumstances then existing, deemed indispensable to their preservation.

Capt. Standish, whose intrepid conduct had so often on previous occasions, rescued the colony from impending danger, was authorised to visit Wessaguscus with eight individuals selected for the enterprise. The day before he left Plymouth, one of Mr. Weston's colony arrived by land, and represented the weak condition of the people there, the increasing boldness of the Indians, and that although one man had been hanged, for stealing their corn, this act was insufficient to satisfy them, and that in general the colony was dispersed in various directions seek-

ing a bare subsistence at the mercy of chance, and were not only destitute of decent clothing, but in absolute danger of starvation.

The person who had fled from Wessagusecus to Plymouth, was soon missed, and an Indian followed him in pursuit, but having taken a wrong path, his intended victim fortunately escaped his vengeance.

The report received concerning the state of affairs at Wessagusecus, hastened the departure of Standish, and a favorable breeze soon wafted him to the place of destination. He first proceeded to the ship, but found no one there. On firing his musket, the master of the plantation and others, appeared, and were asked how they ventured to live in such apparent security. He intimated the danger to which they were exposed, and the object of his visit. He further offered them an asylum at Plymouth, if they chose to go there, till they could find some other situation.

Large numbers of the Indians daily resorted to the plantation, and sharpened their knives in his presence, and used various other insulting gestures and words. Among the rest Wituwamat bragged of the excellence of his knife. On the end of the handle there was pictured a woman's face, 'but,' said he, 'I have another at home wherewith I have killed both French and English, and that hath a man's face on it, and by and by these two must marry.' He further said, 'by and by it should eat but not speak.' Also Pecksuot, being a man of greater statue than the captain, told him 'though he was a great captain, yet he was but

a little man;' and said he, 'though I be no Sachem, yet I am a man of great strength and courage.' These indications of hostility, Standish patiently bore for the present. The day after, when Wittuwamet and Pecksuot and two others were in a room together, with about the same number of his own men, Standish ordered the door shut, and then seizing the knife suspended from the neck of Pecksuot, killed him with the same. Wittuwamet was killed by the others present, and his brother was taken and afterwards hanged. The death of these prominent ringleaders, was speedily followed by a general flight of their followers, and Standish after seeing to the embarcation of that part of the colony of Weston that preferred going to Monhegan, and taking the rest in his shallop, safely arrived at Plymouth.

Thus ended the colony of Weston, within a year from its first commencement. It affords a striking example of a presumptuous disregard of those moral and religious principles, which form the only substantial basis of social institutions. It was doubtless undertaken solely with a view to profit, and by a disappointed merchant adventurer, whose eagerness of speculation could not easily be satisfied, or sufficiently moderated, to await the result of his investments in the colony of Plymouth.

The result of this 'capital exploit' of Standish, as it is called by Dr. Belknap, was soon followed by the submission and in some instances the dispersion of the prominent natives who had engaged with the

tribes of Massachusets in the conspiracy, and produced a lasting impression on their minds, highly favorable to the colony of Plymouth, in all its relations, and was the principal cause of establishing a long continued peace.

The memory of Standish has sometimes been inconsiderately reproached for undue severity in the execution of his duty on the occasion above narrated. This appears unjust in the extreme, when it is considered that he acted under authority, derived from the colony of Plymouth itself, and therefore should not be singled out as deserving of *special* condemnation. Whatever regret may be felt at the occurrence of so tragical a result as the loss of a few lives, the circumstances existing at the time, and the concurrent testimony from various quarters, of a general movement against the colony, authorized the adoption of strong counteracting measures, and history rarely affords a parallel instance, in which so important an end was secured, by so small a sacrifice of life.

Having thus presented a brief history of the pilgrims during their earlier struggles, when their numbers were few, their resources slender, and their dangers imminent, the limits assigned to this work, forbid more than some general abstract of prominent events occurring in the colony till its union with Massachusetts. If the reader should conceive that we have dwelt too long and too minutely on the transactions of a few years, and the record of events which seem insignificant in comparison with the

splendid achievements that mark the annals of society, in its more advanced stages, he is desired to consider that true heroism is not determined by the sphere of its action alone, and that men who braved the ocean, settled on the borders of an unexplored wilderness, inhabited only by a savage race, who bore the pressure of want without a murmur, and the uplifted tomahawk without blenching, and finally established the firm foothold of liberty, have acquired claims to our regard, which render every movement of their eventful life, a worthy subject of consideration.

* 'Now the peculiarity which has seemed to me to distinguish these trials of the Pilgrim age, from those, from the chief of which the general voice of literature has concurred to glorify, as the trials of heroism; the peculiarity which gives to these and such as these, the attributes of a truer heroism, is this: that they had to meet them on what was then a humble, obscure, and distant stage, with no numerous audience to look on and applaud, and cast its wreaths on the fainting brow of him, whose life was rushing with his blood; and unsustained by one single one of those sterner, and more stimulating impulses, and aims, and sentiments, which carry a soldier to his grave of honor as to the bridal bed. Where were the pilgrims while in this furnace of affliction? And who saw and took thought for them? They were

* Choate's Address at New York, Dec. 22, 1844.

alone on the earth! Directly and solely, 'in their great task maker's eye.' If every one of them had died the first winter of long fever, or been starved to death or crushed by the towahawk, who was to mourn for them? A few hearts in Leyden would have broken, and that had been all. Unlike the martyr, even, around whose ascended chariot wheels and horses of fire, a congregation might come to sympathize and be exalted, blasphemers to be deified and struck with unwonted admiration, they were alone on the earth. Primeval forests, a winter's sea, a winter's sky, circled them about, and excluded every sympathizing human eye. To play the part of heroism on its high places and its theatre, is not perhaps, so very difficult. To do it alone as seeing him who is invisible, was the stupenduous trial of the Pilgrim Heroism.'

CHAPTER X.

An abstract of important events and circumstances connected with the Pilgrims from 1623 *to the Union of the Old Colony and Massachusetts in* 1692.

April 1623. The spring opened and found the Colonists, exhausted by the labor of procuring the means of subsistence and in suppressing Indian hostilities. They had no corn excepting that reserved for seed; and therefore devoted their whole attention to planting. To insure greater individual efforts the Governor allotted one acre of land to each person in the colony. Previous to this time the colony had strictly adhered to the arrangement made with the merchant adventurers in London — by which the labor of individuals was thrown into a common stock 'We arrange all the youth under some family, plant for their own particular benefit, and trust to themselves for food, — but at harvest bring in a competent portion for the maintainance of public officers, fisherman, &c. and in all other things go on in the *general way* as before. For this end assign every family a parcel of land in proportion to their number, though *make no division for inheritance*, which has very good success,

makes all industrious, gives content.' Bradford in Prince, 133.

'We begin to set our corn, the setting season being good till the latter end of May, but by the time our corn is planted, our victuals are spent: not knowing at night where to have a bit in the morning, and have neither bread nor corn for three or four months together: yet bear our wants with cheerfulness and rest on Providence.' Prince, 135.

July. Notwithstanding the great efforts made, and the strong hopes cherished of an abundant crop, the prospect of a famine now threatened them by reason of a severe drought and extreme heat from the third week in May to the middle of July, which withered the corn, and almost destroyed vegetation. They learnt at this time also the failure of expected supplies from England. The most courageous were now discouraged; and the Government set apart, 'a day of humiliation and prayer, to seek the Lord in this distress, who was pleased to give speedy answer to our own and the Indian's admiration; for though in the former part of the day it was very clear and hot, without a sign of rain, yet towards the evening, before the exercise was over, the clouds gathered and next morning distilled such soft and gentle showers as gave cause of joy and praise to God.' This was the origin of the public fast of New England. The rain fell gently and lasted fourteen days, producing a total change in the face of nature, and a not less striking change in the hearts and prospects of the drooping colonists.

About the last of this month the Ann, Mr. Wm. Pierce, and soon after the Little James, Bridges Masters, arrived, with about sixty passengers for the colony. 'When these passengers see our low condition ashore, they are much dismayed and full of sadness; only our old friends rejoice to see us, and that it is no worse, and now hope we shall enjoy better days together. The best dish we could present them with, is a lobster, or piece of fish, without bread, or any thing else but a cup of fair spring water; and the long continuance of this diet, with our labors abroad, has somewhat abated the freshness of our complexion, but God gives us health.' Prince, p. 140.

September 10. The pinnace sailed to the southward of Cape Cod, on a voyage of discovery and to trade with the Narragansetts. The ship Ann was hired for the company and sailed for England with Mr. Edward Winslow as passenger, and was freighted with beaver and clap-boards.

November 5. A fire broke out in a dwelling house, occasioned by some disorderly seamen, by which it was consumed and three or four others — and goods and provisions amounting to 500 pounds.

1624. The time of electing officers for this year having arrived, Governor Bradford requested the people to change the persons and to add more assistants to the Governor for aid and advice, observing that if it were a benefit or honor, 'tis fit others should be partakers; or if a burthen, 'tis but equal others should help to bear it, and that this was the end of *yearly*

elections, but whereas there was but one assistant. they now choose five, and give the Governor a double voice.

March. Mr. Edward Winslow, agent for the colony, returned from England in the Charity with a good supply of clothing, and cattle, consisting of one bull and three heifers.

Mr. John Lyford, a minister, also came with Mr. Winslow, and at first promised to become a valuable acquisition to the colony; but afterwards proved factious and assuming — and endeavored to seduce the people from their duty to the church and government established in Plymouth. He soon joined with Mr. John Oldham, supposed to be a private instrument of the disaffected merchant adventurers in England. Gov. Bradford obtained a knowledge of their plans, summoned them before the whole Court, presented the evidence of their injurious intentions, and they were expelled the colony.

DIVISION OF LAND.

The following transcript is from the first page of the first book of Plymouth Colony Records, and is no doubt a part of the allotment made Jan. 9, 1620 — 1, mentioned in page 64 of this book. It is incomplete, and the other part is illegible. By the Street is probably meant Leyden Street, leading from Town Square to the water. The high way led to the town spring, and is now Market Street.

'The Meersteads and Garden plotes of those which came first, layed out 1620.

The North side.	South side.
	Peter Brown.
	John Goodman,
	Mr. Brewster.
	Hige way.
the street.	John Billington,
	Mr. Isaak Allerton,
	Francis Cooke,
	Edward Winslow.

'This spring the people requesting the Governor to have some *land* for continuance, and *not* by *yearly lot* as before, he gives every person an acre to them and theirs, as near the town as can be; and no more till the *seven years*, that we may keep close together for greater defence and safety.' Prince, p. 147.

The first division of lands temporarily made in 1623, as before mentioned, was now confirmed in perpetuity. The lands thus divided lie on both sides of the Town Brook, and were mostly cleared land, being the ancient Indian corn land. The following division of lands is taken from the Old Colony Records, vol. 1, pages 1 to 11 inclusive. An exact transcript from the records has been made with care, and the ancient spelling has been retained. There will be found some slight variations from the same document, as contained in Hazard's Collections.

'The falles of their grounds which came first over in the May Floure, according as their lots were cast, 1623.

The number of akers to each one.

* Robert Cochman,	1	Mr. Isaak Allerton,	7
Mr. William Brewster,	6	John Billington,	3
William Bradford,	3	Peter Browen,	1
Richard Gardener,	1	Samuel Fuller,	2
Frances Cooke,	2	† Joseph Rogers,	2
George Soule,	1		

These contain twenty-nine akers.

These lye on the south side of the brooke, to the bay-wards.

These lye on the south side of the brooke, to the woodward, opposite to the former.

John Howland,	4	Edward,	1
Stephen Hopkins,	6	Gilbard Winslow,	1
‡ Edward,	1	Samuel Fuller, Juneor,	3

These contain sixteen akers, besides Hobamak's ground, which lieth between Jo. Howland's and Hopkinses.

This five akers lyeth behind the fort to the little pond.

William White,	5
Edward Winslow,	4

* In a note to the N. E. Memorial, p. 376, Judge Davis considers that by this name Robert Cushman is intended.

† Rogers was probably a son of Thomas Rogers, who came in the Mayflower, and died the first winter.

‡ The blanks to this name should be filled with Dotey, or Doten, and the next with Leister.

Richard Warren,	2	
John Goodman,		[The figures which were annexed to these names are obliterated.]
John Crackstone,		
John Alden,		
*Marie Hilton,		
Captin Miles Standish,	2	
Francis Eaton,	4	
Henerie Samson,	1	
Humilitie Cooper,	1	

These lye on the north side of the towne, next adjoining to their gardens which came in the Fortune.

The fales of their grounds which came in the fortune, according as their lots were cast, (1623.)

These lye to the sea, eastward.

William Hilton,	1		
John Winslow,	1		
William Coner	1	William Tench,	2
John Adams,	1	John Cannon,	

These following lye beyonde the . 2 . Brooke.

Hugh Statie,	1	Austen Nicolas,	1
William Beale,	2	Widow Foord,	4
Thomas Cushman,			

Fifteen acres.

These lye beyond the first brooke, to the wood westward.

William Wright,	2	James Steward,	1
William Pitt,		William Palmer,	2

* This name has heretofore been copied wrong, and called Mary Hilton. The record is worn, but is evidently meant for Mary Chilton.

Robert Hickes,	1	Jonathan Brewster,	1
Thomas Prence,	1	Benet Morgan,	1
Steven Dean,	1	Thomas Flavell and his son.	2
Moyses Simonson, Philipe de la noye,	2	Thomas Morton,	1
Edward Bompass,	1	William Bassite,	2
Clement Brigges,	1		

Nineteen akers.

The fales of their grounds which came over in the shipe called the Anne, according as their [lots] were cast, 1623.

James Rande, 1 aker.

These following lye beyond the brooke to Strawberie hill.

Edmond Flood,	1
Christopher Connant,	1
Francis Cooke,	4

These butt against the Swampe and Reed Ponde.

George Morton, Experience Michell,	8
Christian Penn,	1
Thomas Morton, Jurnor,	1
William Hilton's wife and two children,	3

These to the sea Eastward.

Francis Spragge,	3
Edward Burcher,	2
John Jenings,	5
Goodwife Flavell,	1
Manasseh and John Fance,	2

This goeth in with a corner by the pond.

Allice Bradford,	1
Robert Hickes, his wife and children,	4
Brigett Fuller,	1
Ellen Newton,	1
Pacience and Fear Brewster, with Robert Long,	3
William Heard,	1
Ms. Standish,	1

These following lye on the other side of the towne towards the Eele river.

Marie Bucket, adjoining to Joseph Rogers,	1
Mr. Ouldom and those joyned with him,	10
Cudbart Cudbartsom,	6
Anthony Anable,	4
Thomas Tilden,	3
* Richard Warren	5
Bangs,	4
Robert Ratliffe, beyond the Swampe and Stony grounde,	1

These butt against Hobs-hole.

Nicolas Snow,	1
Anthony Dixe,	(worn off)
Mr. Perce's 2 Servants	(worn off)
Ralfe Walen,	(worn off)

South Side.

Steph. Tracy, three acres — 3
Tho. Clarke, one acre —— 1
Robt. Bartlett, one acre —— 1

* The number of acres, against this name is erroneous in Hazard's collection, and should be 5 instead of 6.

North Side.

Edw. Holman, 1 acre —— 1
Frances, wife to Willm. Palmer, } 1 acre.
Joshua Pratt, Phineas Pratt, } ——— 2

Plymouth Colony Records, p. 4 to 11.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF PASSENGERS

Who arrived at Plymouth in the Mayflower, 180 *tons burthen, Dec. 21st*, 1620, — *the Fortune of* 55 *tons, Nov. 9th*, 1621 — *the Ann of* 140 *tons, and the Little James of* 44 *tons, the last of July or the beginning of August*, 1623.

The letters attached to each name indicate the vessel in which they came. M for the Mayflower — F for the Fortune — A for the Ann and Little James.

NAMES OF PASSENGERS.	NAMES OF PASSENGERS.
A	M Mr. William Brewster
M Mr. Isaac Allerton	M John Billington
M John Alden	M Peter Brown
M John Allerton	M Richard Britterige
F John Adams	F William Bassite
A Anthony Annable	F William Beale
	F Edward Bompasse
B	F Jonathan Brewster
M Mr. William Bradford	F Clement Brigges

A Edward Bangs
A Robert Bartlett
A Fear Brewster
A Patience Brewster
A Mary Bucket
A Edward Burcher

C

M Mr. John Carver
M Francis Cook
M James Chilton
M John Crackston
M Richard Clarke
F John Cannon
F William Coner
F Robert Cushman
F Thomas Cushman
A Thomas Clarke
A Cuthbert Cuthbertson
A Chistopher Conant, ✓

D

M Edward Dotey
F Stephen Deane
A Anthony Dix
F Philip de La Noye

E

M Francis Eaton
M Thomas English

F

M Mr. Samuel Fuller
M Edward Fuller
M Moses Fletcher
F Thomas Flavell and son.
F Widow Foord
A John Faunce
A Manasseh Faunce
A Goodwife Flavell
A Edmund Flood
A Bridget Fuller

G

M John Goodman
M Richard Gardiner

H

M John Howland
M Mr. Stephen Hopkins
F Robert Hickes
F William Hilton
A Timothy Hatherly
A William Heard
A Margaret Hickes and her ✓ children
A William Hilton's wife and children
A Edward Holman

J

A John Jenny

L

M Edward Leister
A Robert Long.

M

M Mr. Christopher Martin
M Mr. William Mullins
M Edmund Margeson
F Benet Morgan
F Thomas Morton
A Experience Mitchell
A George Morton
A Thomas Morton, Jr.

N

F Austin Nicolas
A Ellen Newton

O

A John Oldham

P

M Degory Priest
F William Palmer
F William Pitt
F Thomas Prence
A Frances Palmer
A Mr. Perce's two servants
A Joshua Pratt
A Christian Penn

R

M Thomas Rogers
M John Ridgdale
A James Rand
A Robert Rattliffe

S

M Capt. Miles Standish
M George Soule
F Moses Simonson
F Hugh Statie
F James Steward
A Nicholas Snow
A Alice Southworth
A Francis Sprague
A Barbary Standish

T

M Edward Tilly
M John Tilly
M Thomas Tinker
M John Turner
A Thomas Tilden
A Stephen Tracy
F William Tench

	W		
M	Mr. Edward Winslow	M	Gilbert Winslow
M	Mr. William White	F	John Winslow
M	Mr. Richard Warren	F	William Wright
M	Thomas Williams	A	Ralph Wallen.

Several names contained in the foregoing list, are differently spelt in modern times, namely: Bassite is now spelt Bassett; Bompasse, Bumpas, sometimes Bump; Burcher is probably the same as Burchard, the name of an early settler in Connecticut; De La Noye, Delano; Dotey is on our records called Dote, Dotey, and now frequently written Doten; Simonson, sometimes written Symons, is now Simmons.

This list is copied from the allotment of lands in 1823, found in the Old Colony Records, Vol. 1, pages 4 to 11 inclusive.

1627. The articles of agreement between the pilgrims and merchant adventurers of London have already been mentioned on p. 27. Soon after the landing in Plymouth in 1620, a spirit of impatience and disaffection was manifested by the merchant adventurers — no doubt occasioned by the disappointment of speedy returns for their investments — a circumstance by no means strange, at a time when speculation was so general, and eager for gain — an illustration of which spirit might readily be found in the experience of our own country during the years 1836 and '37 — when innumerable companies were form-

ed, from motives very similar to those which governed the merchant adventurers of London — with this difference, however, that with respect to the latter, jealousies arose in relation to religious views — and that sectarianism and the love of gain both combined, in producing a discordant spirit, highly injurious to the pilgrims, both as to their worldly interests and spiritual concerns. The feeling existing among the adventurers is clearly expressed in a letter of Mr. Robinson to Elder Brewster, dated Dec. 10, 1623 — mentioned by Gov. Bradford, and quoted by Prince, p. 146, 'wherein he writes of the deferring of their transportation through the opposition of some of the adventurers; five or six being absolutely bent for *them*, above all others; five or six are their professed adversaries, the *rest* more indifferent, yet influenced by the *latter*, who above all others are unwilling that he should be transported,' &c. The opposition to the removal of Robinson and that part of the flock then at Leyden, probably arose from the expense it would occasion — and perhaps some mixture of sectarian jealousy. Under these circumstances, it was deemed expedient by the government of Plymouth to make some compromise with the merchant adventurers — and to dissolve the connection existing between them and the colony, which from various causes had become injurious to both parties, but more particularly so to the latter, in the hindrance of its growth. This negotiation was entrusted to Mr. Isaac Allerton, through whose discretion, talents and

perseverance it was at last accomplished. In 1627 he embarked for England, to ratify the bargain he had made with the merchant adventurers, bearing date November 15, 1626, which may be found in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. 3, p. 48, 1st Series, — and the names subscribed to the same in Appendix A. of this work. The price paid the adventurers was eighteen hundred pounds sterling, payable in bonds of 200 pounds each at Michaelmas, for nine years. One object of the pilgrims in making this arrangement was to facilitate the removal of their brethren from Leyden with their families, who were unable to bear the expense of transportation. Another object was to discharge their just engagements to the adventurers. Perhaps no stronger temptation ever existed to refuse payment, than in this case. They had been treated with contumely on the part of the adventurers — unreasonable complaints had been made — unjust slanders had been uttered against them — and they were three thousand miles distant. It is therefore just ground of rejoicing, that the pilgrims, under the temptation of poverty, and in the midst of their varied trials, scorned, under any pretence or consideration whatever, to countenance the modern doctrine of *repudiation*, which has in later times disgraced some portions of our country. In the Appendix D. of this book, there will be found a document showing the losses of some of the principal men of the colony, occasioned by their bonds given to the adventurers as security.

DIVISION OF CATTLE AND FURTHER DIVISION OF LANDS.

After the arrangement with the merchant adventurers — when the colony was no longer in any sense dependent upon them — a division of the cattle was made as follows:

At a public Court, held the 22d of May, it was concluded, by the whole Company, That the Cattle, which were the Company's, to wit, the Cows and the Goats, should be equally divided to all the persons of the same Company; and so kept, until the expiration of ten years after the date above written; and that every one should well and sufficiently provide for his own part, under penalty of forfeiting the same.

That the Old Stock, with half the increase, should remain for common use, to be divided at the end of the said term; or otherwise as occasion falleth out. The other half to be their own forever.

Upon which agreement they were equally divided by lots, so as the burthen of keeping the males then being, should be borne for common use, by those to whose lot the best cows should fall. And so the lots fell as followeth; thirteen persons being apportioned to one lot.

1. The first lot fell to Francis Cooke and his Company; joined to him his wife Hester Cooke,

3 John Cooke, 4 Jacob Cooke,

5 Jane Cooke,
6 Hester Cooke,
7 Mary Cooke,
8 Moses Simonson,
9 Phillip Delanoy
10 Experience Michaell,
11 John Ffance,
12 Joshua Pratt,
13 Phinihas Pratt.

To this lot fell the least of the four black heifers, came in the Jacob, and two she goats.

2. The second lot fell to Mr. Isaac Allerton, and his company; joined to him his wife Fear Allerton,

3 Bartholomew Allerton,
4 Remember Allerton,
5 Mary Allerton,
6 Sarah Allerton,
7 Godber Godberson,
8 Sarah Godberson,
9 Samuel Godberson,
10 Marra Priest
11 Sarah Priest,
12 Edward Bumpasse,
13 John Crakstone.

To this lot fell the great black cow, came in the Ann, to which they must keep the lesser of the two steers, and two she goats.

3. The third lot fell to Capt. Standish and his Company; joined to him his wife Barbara Standish,

3 Charles Standish,
4 Alexander Standish,
5 John Standish,
6 Edward Winslow,
7 Susanna Winslow,
8 Edward Winslow,
9 John Winslow,
10 Resolved White,
11 Peregrine White,
12 Abraham Pierce,
13 Thomas Clarke.

To this lot fell the red cow, which belongeth to the poor of the colony; to which they must keep her calf of this year, being a bull, for the Company. Also to this lot came two she goats.

4. The fourth lot fell to John Howland and his company; joined to him his wife,

2 Elizabeth Howland,
3 John Howland, Jun.
4 Desire Howland,
5 William Wright,
6 Thomas Morton, Jun.
7 John Alden,
8 Priscilla Alden,
9 Elizabeth Alden,
10 Clement Briggs,
11 Edward Dotton,
12 Edward Holdman,
13 Jo. Alden.

To this lot fell one of the four heifers, came in the Jacob, called Raghorn.

5 The fifth lot fell to Mr. William Brewster and his company; joined to him,

2 Love Brewster,
3 Wrestling Brewster,
4 Richard More,
5 Henri Samson,
6 Jonathan Brewster,
7 Lucrecia Brewster
8 William Brewster,
9 Mary Brewster,
10 Thomas Prince,
11 Pacience Prince,
12 Rebecka Prince,
13 Humilitie Cooper.

To this lot fell one of the four heifers, came in the Jacob, called the Blind Heifer, and two she goats.

6. The sixth lot fell to John Shaw and his company; joined to him,

2 John Adams,
3 Eliner Adams,
4 James Adams,
5 John Winslow,
6 Mary Winslow,
7 William Bassett,
8 Elizabeth Basset,
9 William Bassite, Jun.
10 Elizabeth Basset, Jun.
11 Francis Sprague,
12 Anna Sprague,
13 Mercye Sprague.

To this lot fell the lesser of the black cows, came

at first in the Ann; with which they must keep the biggest of the two steers. Also to this lot was two she goats.

7. The seventh lot fell to Stephen Hopkins and his companie; joined to him his wife,

2 Elizabeth Hopkins,
3 Giles Hopkins,
4 Caleb Hopkins,
5 Debora Hopkins,
6 Nickolas Snow,
7 Constance Snow,
8 William Palmer,
9 Frances Palmer,
10 William Palmer, Jun.
11 John Billington, Sen.
12 Hellen Billington,
13 Francis Billington.

To this lot fell a black weaning calf; to which was added the calfe of this year, to come of the black cow, which fell to John Shaw and his companie, which, proving a bull, they were to keep it five years for common use, and after to make the best of it. Nothing belongeth of these two for the Company of the first stock, but only half the increase.

To this lot there fell two she goats; which goats they possess on the like terms which others do their cattle.

8. The eighth lot fell to Samuel Fuller and his company; joined to him his wife,

2 Bridget Fuller,
3 Samuel Fuller, Jun.
4 Peter Browne,
5 Martha Browne,
6 Mary Browne,
7 John Ford,
8 Martha Ford,
9 Anthony Anable,
10 Jane Anable,
11 Sara Anable,
12 Hannah Anable,
13 Damaris Hopkins.

To this lot fell a red heifer, came of the cow which belongeth to the poor of the colony, and is of that consideration, viz. these persons nominated to have half the increase, the other half, with the old stock, to remain for the use of the poor. To this lot also two she goats.

9. The ninth lot fell to Richard Warren and his company; joined with him his wife Elizabeth Warren,

3 Nathaniel Warren,
4 Joseph Warren,
5 Mary Warren,
6 Ann Warren,
7 Sara Warren,
8 Elizabeth Warren,
9 Abigail Warren,
10 John Billington,
11 George Sowle,
12 Mary Sowle,
13 Zachariah Sowle.

To this lot fell one of the four black heyfers that came in the Jacob, called the Smooth Horned Heifer, and two she goats.

10. The tenth lot fell to Ffrancis Eaton and those joined with him, his wife Christian Eaton,

3 Samuel Eaton,
4 Rahell Eaton,
5 Stephen Tracie,
6 Triphosa Tracie,
7 Sarah Tracie,
8 Rebecka Tracie.
9 Ralph Wallen,
10 Joyce Wallen,
11 Sarah Morton,
12 Robert Bartlett,
13 Thomas Prence.

To this lot fell an heifer of the last year, called the White Bellied Heifer, and two she goats.

11. The eleventh lot fell to the Governour, Mr. William Bradford, and those with him, to wit, his wife,

2 Alice Bradford, and
3 William Bradford, Jun.
4 Mercy Bradford,
5 Joseph Rogers,
6 Thomas Cushman,
7 William Latham,
8 Manasses Kempton,
9 Julian Kempton,
10 Nathaniel Morton,
11 John Morton,
12 Ephraim Morton,
13 Patience Morton.

To this lot fell an heifer of the last year, which was of the great white back cow, that was brought over in the Ann, and two she goats.

12. The twelfth lot fell to John Jene and his company; joined to him his wife,

2 Sarah Jenne,
3 Samuel Jenne,
4 Abigail Jenne,
5 Sarah Jene,
6 Robert Hickes,
7 Margaret Hickes,
8 Samuel Hickes,
9 Ephraim Hickes,
10 Lydia Hickes,
11 Phebe Hickes,
12 Stephen Deane,
13 Edward Bangs.

To this lot fell the great white back cow, which was brought over with the first, in the Ann; to which cow the keeping of the bull was joined for these presents to provide for. Here also two she goats.

1627, May the 22d. It was further agreed at the same court, 'That if any of the cattle should by accident miscarry, or be lost or hurt, that the same should be taken knowledge of by indifferent men,

and judged whether the loss came by the negligence or default of those betrusted; and if they were found faulty, that then such should be forced to make satisfaction for the companies, as also their partner's damage.'

The above is a literal transcript from the Old Colony Records, vol. 1st. There are two errors contained in the list found in Hazard's Collection, viz. in the first share Josiah Prat should be Joshua Prat.

The 3d of January, 1627. It was agreed in a full court, about division of lands, as followeth:

1. That the first division of the acres should stand and continue firme, according to the former division made unto the possessors thereof, and to their heirs forever, free liberty being reserved to all, to get firewood thereon; but the timber trees were excepted for the owners of the ground.

2. That the second division should consist of 20 acres to every person, and containe five in breadth and four in length; and so accordingly to be divided by lot to every one which was to have share therein.

3. The ground to be judged sufficient before the lots were drawne, and the rest to be left to common use.

4. This being done, that for our better subsistence and convenience, those grounds which are nearest the towne, in whose lot so ever they fall, shall be used by the whole, for the space of four years from the date hereof, viz. first, that the right owner make

choice of twice that quantity he shall or may use, within the said terme, and then to take to him such neighbors as shall have need and he thinks fite; but if they cannot agree, then the governor and council may appoint as they think meet: Provided that the woods be ordered for felling and loping according as the owner shall appoint; for neither fire wood nor other timber, either for —— or fencing, or any other use —— be felled —— carried off of any of these lots, without the owners leave or license, but he is to preserve them —— best advantage.

5. That whatsoever the surveyers judge sufficient shall stand without contradiction or opposition, and every man shall rest contented with his lot.

6. That after the purchasers are served as aforesaid, that then such planters as are heirs to such as died before the right of the land was yielded to the adventurers, have also 20 acres, a person proportionable to their right laid out in part of their inheritance.

7. That first they shall begine, near the acres of the first division end, and lay out that to the Eell River, so far as shall be thought fit by the surveyors; and return to the north side of the town, and so proceed accordingly; and that they shall leave all great timber swamps for common use.

8. That fowling, fishing and hunting shall be free.

9. That the old path ways be still allowed, and that every man be allowed a convenient way to the water wheresoever the lot fall.

10. Lastly, that every man of the surveyors have each a peck of corn for every share of land laid out by them, payed by the owner thereof, when the same is laid out.

The names of the layers out were these: William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Howland, Francis Cook, Joshua Pratt, Edward Bangs.

After the arrangements with the merchant adventurers were fully completed, eight individuals of the colony hired its trade for the term of six years. These individuals were William Bradford, Captain Miles Standish, Isaac Allerton, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, John Howland, John Alden, Thomas Prence — to whom were afterwards joined James Shirley, John Beauchamp, Richard Andrews, and Timothy Hatherly of London. These were called undertakers — and in consideration of having undertaken and agreed 'to pay, discharge, and acquit the said colony of all the debts, both due for the purchase, or any way belonging to the same;' and also agreeing to furnish annually in hose and shoes, for the colony's use, to the amount of fifty pounds — to be sold them for corn at 6*s.* per bushel, — were to have the exclusive trade of the colony for six years, and 'to have and freely enjoy the pinnace, the boat at Manomet, and the Shallop called the Bass boat, with all other implements to them belonging, that is in the store of the company, with the whole stock of furs, fells, beads, corn, wampampeak, hatchets, knifes, &c., that is now in the store or any way due unto the same

upon account.' * This arrangement enabled the colony to pay off its debts and to secure the means of transporting that part of the church which remained at Leyden — though not without great individual efforts and sacrifices on the part of the undertakers of it.

This year a friendly communication was opened with the Dutch plantation, settled at Hudson's River. A letter was received from Isaac de Razer, dated from the Manhatas in the fort Amsterdam, March 9, 1627, N. S., directed to the Governor of New Plymouth, and was replied to in a friendly spirit on the 19th of the same month. In the spring of 1628, other letters were received from the same source, and afterwards articles of traffic were forwarded in a bark to Manomet, * with the Secretary Rassier as passenger. Governor Bradford sends a boat and brings him and his company to Plymouth. From this time for many years after, a profitable trade was conducted to the mutual benefit of both parties. Upon this occasion the colonists first commenced the traffic in wampam, which eventually proved a valuable source of income.

1628. This year a trading house was erected by the colony high up the Kennebeck River.

1629. This year, much difficulty was occasioned by Thomas Morton, who dwelt at Mount Wallaston, † in what is now called Quincy. He came

* See Mass. His. Col. vol. 3, 1st series, p. 60.

† Mount Wallaston is a beautiful swell of land, rising 100 feet

over with Captain Wallaston and about thirty others in the year 1635. Wallaston left the plantation in 1626 — and Morton contrived to become the chief manager there. His licentious and unprincipled conduct became matter of alarm to the colony of Plymouth and other settlers in the country. He became quite a favorite among the Indians, and not only supplied them with fire arms, but instructed them in their use, and employed them in hunting. The apprehension of settlers in different parts of the country, led them to solicit the aid of the Plymouth colonists to suppress the establishment of Morton, which

above high water, delightfully situated, within about 80 rods of Quincy Bay, and commands a fine view of the islands and forts in the harbor, as well as Boston and the surrounding country. It is three-fourths of a mile northeast of the Stone Church in Quincy, and two miles to the northwest of what is called Old Spain, where Weston's colony was settled. There is now standing on this mount a solitary, time-worn red cedar tree, six feet and four inches in circumference, at the distance of 10 inches above the ground. Its appearance, and the traditions of Quincy, render it not improbable that this relic of olden time formed a part of the grove, — so favorable for the orgies of Thomas Morton and his dissolute associates.

On viewing this remaining veteran of the primitive evergreens, which once decorated this beautiful spot, who would not indulge, at least the temporary wish, to find 'tongues in trees,' not merely in a poetical, but in a more literal sense; and to become an auditor of the tale it might rehearse of the past; the withering rebukes which it might utter against perverted talents and unrighteous deeds — till assuming a more chastened and cheerful tone as succeeding periods are unfolded, it should dwell on the lives of Tomson, Flint, Hancock and Bryant in the church, and the Adamses, Quincies and Greenleafs, distinguished in the State; the splendor of whose fame, while it throws into dim obscurity the stain of earlier days, is destined to illumine the pathway of the future.

they agreed to undertake, after repeated expostulations had proved unavailing. Capt. Standish was deputed for this purpose — and coming to the residence of Morton, found him prepared to resist — but in his usually decisive way, disarmed and made him prisoner. He was sent prisoner to England, but suffered to return again the next year without punishment. The expense of this expedition against Morton was £12 7*s*, of which Plymouth paid £2 10*s*, besides their trouble in other respects.

The following extract from a letter of the late President Adams, directed to the printer of the Old Colony Memorial, at Plymouth, dated May 18, 1822, throws some light on the character of Morton and others of a similar stamp:

'But the first settlers of New England had emissaries sent out with the express purpose of counteracting and destroying their puritanical establishments. The character of Sir Christopher Gardiner, of Weston, the heart of the establishment of Wessagusett, and Thomas Morton, of Mount Wallaston, ought to be minutely investigated. They were all in the confidence of Archbishop Laud, as appears explicitly by the writings of Thomas Morton, in his New Canaan. This Thomas Morton was as great a plague to our forefathers, as Tom. Paine has been in our days. His writings, conduct and character ought to be examined, and stated at full length. He and those other emissaries furnished the Indians

with arms, and taught them the use of them; and what was worse — gave them spirituous liquors and commenced their habits of intoxication.'

1637. This year is memorable on account of the Pequot war, which terminated in the destruction of that tribe. The Colony Records mention the names of 38 individuals who volunteered their services to aid the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Lieutenant William Holmes was appointed leader of the expedition, and Mr. Thomas Prence, counsellor of war. Their services were not needed, the war having been speedily terminated before their embarkation for the scene of action.

1643. The New England Confederacy of 1643. This important event in the history of America, was suggested to the colonies, by the experience of the Pequot war — and became the subject of discussion at that time, and was required by the extended settlements of the English, at that early period, which exposed them to hostilities not only from the natives, but from the French settlements in Canada, and the Dutch at New Amsterdam. *'The New England Confederation originated in the Plymouth colony, and was probably suggested to them by the example which they had witnessed, and under which they had lived several years in the United Netherlands.' The New

* See John Q. Adams' discourse, Mass. His. Col. vol. 9, 3d series.

England confederacy was confined to the Puritan emigration from England. Its elements were all homogeneous in their nature, and its professed design to continue them *one* in political organization, as they were in nation and religion, was no difficult achievement. The New England confederacy of 1643 was the model and prototype of the North American confederacy. In neither of the two cases was the measure authorized or sanctioned by the charters of the several colonies, parties to the compact. In both cases it was the great law of nature, and of nature's God. 'The final dissolution of the confederacy was occasioned by the tyranny of James the second, in seizing and vacating the charter of the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies.' The last meeting of the commissioners, as appears from their records, was in March, 1678. Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. William Collor were the commissioners on the part of Plymouth colony, in the formation of this confederacy.'

Up to the year 1661 the meetings of the commissioners were held annually; but afterwards were triennial. These meetings were held at Boston, Plymouth, Hartford and New Haven, alternately, excepting that in the rotation two successive meetings were held in Boston.

1675. Philip's War. This interesting period in history — upon which hung the destiny of the whole white population of New England — is probably

more familiar to the community, than almost any event in our early history; — and its causes — progress and conclusion — have engaged the attention of various historians, from the attractive pages of Church — the second Standish of New England — to the more labored and comprehensive relations of Hubbard, Drake and others.

We have room only to remark that Gov Josiah Winslow, Col. Benjamin Church, William Bradford, son of Gov. Bradford, Capt. Michael Pierce, and Jabez Howland, son of John Howland, and others of the old colony, were distinguished and prominent actors in this memorable struggle, for supremacy between the English and aboriginal races, which resulted in the death of King Philip or Metacome, in August, 1676, the dispersion of his followers, and the uninterrupted possession of New England. The following general remarks of a distinguished writer on this subject are subjoined. * 'Yet the war which broke out in 1675, commonly called King Philip's war, can hardly be ascribed to this or any other particular circumstance, and appears to have been the unavoidable result of the relative situation in which the Indians and whites were placed. Collisions had during the preceding period often occurred, but no actual hostilities of any importance had taken place; and Massachusetts, particularly, though exposed to obloquy on that account, always interposed to prevent war. If the Indians

* Hon. Albert Gallaton. See Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, vol. 2. p. 39.

were not always kindly, it cannot be said that they were in general unjustly treated. With the exception of the conquered Pequods, no lands were ever forcibly taken from them. They were all gradually purchased from those sachems respectively in whose possession they were. But there, as every where else, the Indians, after a certain length of time, found that in selling their lands they had lost their usual means of subsistence, that they were daily diminishing, that the gradual progress of the whites was irresistible, and as a last effort, though too late, they attempted to get rid of the intruders.*

FIRST CHURCH IN PLYMOUTH.

It is not proposed, in this book, to enter into any minute details concerning the ecclesiastical history of the Plymouth Colony. The only endeavor will be to bring together into one brief statement, a few general and important facts, gleaned from the most authentic sources of information. It is well known, that the removal of the Pilgrims from England to Holland, whence they sailed to America, was one of the results of that great religious movement during the latter part of the sixteenth and the first part of the seventeenth centuries, which for a long time convulsed, and, at last, revolutionized England itself.

* See Appendix D. for estimated expenses of the war, &c.

They voluntarily exiled themselves to obtain that freedom which their brethren who remained, at last gained by the sword. In 1607, the church under the care of Mr. John Robinson, determined to remove from their native land. Six persons, 'men of piety and learning,' holding similar opinions, had already suffered martyrdom. Some of their own friends were imprisoned. They were all exposed to continually increasing disabilities and persecutions. The only alternatives before them were, a conformity to the Church they deemed so corrupt, or a series of bitter persecutions, or a voluntary exile.

Their first attempt at removal to the low countries was made in 1607. It was unsuccessful. They were betrayed by the captain of the ship they had hired for this purpose, and delivered into the hands of the magistrates of Lincolnshire, and some of them suffered imprisonment.

In the spring of 1608, another and a successful attempt was made by a part of their number, and after encountering a violent storm, wherein they were in most imminent danger of shipwreck, they arrived in safety at Amsterdam. The remainder of the company, after many trials in England, soon joined them, together with Mr. Robinson, their pastor, and Mr. Brewster, their ruling elder. In a few months, however, they removed to the city of Leyden, where they remained until they sailed to this country.

Different impressions seem to have been entertained concerning their situation, during the eleven

or twelve years of their residence at Leyden. Their numbers were greatly increased by emigrations from various parts of England, and they became a large congregation.* But recent researches make it appear that they were not treated there with that consideration and respect which have sometimes been supposed. They probably lived in care and in poverty. As the 'Memoirs of the Pilgrims at Leyden,' † by George Sumner, Esq., published in vol. 9, third series, of the Mass. Historical Collections, seem to demonstrate, there is no proof of their having received any attentions on the part of the magistrates. Probably they had no public place of worship. Robinson, their pastor, was not admitted as a subject of the University of Leyden until 1615, September 5, after a residence of six or seven years. And they found great difficulty in raising the necessary means to transport themselves to America. Their privations and self-denials in Holland, in some respects were greater than in England. A few days sail would have carried them to their former homes, where they might have been comparatively free from this outward poverty. They lived eleven years with that temptation continually before their eyes, yet untempted, all the while, to swerve from the strictest

* The number of Robinson's congregation cannot now be ascertained with entire accuracy. It probably consisted of about 300 — corresponding nearly with those who came over in the years 1820, 1821 and 1823 — 1829 and 1830.

† See appendix.

devotion to their principle. It would be easy to show how the attractions of their previous homes must have pleaded often with all merely human feeling, as they looked over the sea towards their native shores. *They* lived in 'the life of God,' who could thus endure and overcome.

In 1617, they began to consult together concerning another removal to some of the unpeopled countries in America. After many consultations, a part of the Church departed from Leyden, on the 21st of July, 1620, to embark at Delfthaven, for England, whence they were to sail. Mr. Robinson accompanied them to the ship, and at the moment of their departure, fell upon his knees, and in fervent prayer, with many tears, commended them to the divine blessing. As the larger part of the Church still remained, Mr. Robinson continued in Holland. Mr. Brewster, the ruling elder, embarked with them, and discharged the duties both of elder and of pastor.

It was the intention of Robinson, soon to join those who first emigrated, and he was, therefore, still considered the pastor of the Plymouth Church. His wish was not gratified. The last time when the early Pilgrims heard his voice, was at the moment of his parting prayer upon the deck at Delfthaven. Still those who went first were to constitute an 'absolute church of themselves,' according to the fundamental principle of Congregationalism; which considers each congregation of worshiping Christians as a church-body, entire in itself, competent to manage its own

affairs, and accountable to no other ecclesiastical tribunal. They thus became of course the First Congregational Church in America. The death of Robinson, at Leyden, March 1st, 1625, caused the dissolution of the church and congregation there. Previously to that event, two other companies, one arriving in the Fortune, in 1621, and one in the Ann, in 1623, had already joined the first Pilgrims. In 1629, and in 1630, others of their number arrived, thus transferring the majority of the Leyden Church to Plymouth.

It is not proposed to enter into the particular history of the church after its first establishment. Indeed, both the early and the later history of the Church and of the Colony, are in a great degree the same. The ecclesiastical history is also the civil history. The Church constituted the Colony. It may only be necessary to notice briefly the opinions and constitution of the original church, before giving a sketch of subsequent events.

Questions concerning doctrine, in the strict sense of that term, seldom appear in the early records of the Colony. Undoubtedly the Pilgrims held to the general views of the Protestants of that day. But the controversies that moved them most deeply, concerned the government and some of the rites of the church. The fundamental principle of Congregationalism, which asserted the entire independence of each assembly of worshiping Christians, and the right of each believer to try all doctrines by the Scriptures, as the

only authoritative standard concerning faith and worship, was the great principle which brought them to the wilderness, and directed their action. They acknowledged no spiritual rulers, except the pastors and elders chosen by themselves. Every other ecclesiastical authority they renounced and deposed. Although they protested against opinions held by the established Church in England, still it was not so much with respect to doctrines as spiritual freedom for which they contended. If, in subsequent years, and in their treatment of persons holding a different faith, the Pilgrims appeared to depart from this their great principle of action, and to fall short of the broad and comprehensive religious toleration of Williams and Penn, or even of Lord Baltimore, much is to be allowed to the inherent difficulties of their position, and something, perhaps, to the spirit of the age in which they lived. When these are fully considered, apparent inconsistencies in their conduct, which have recently been greatly magnified, will be viewed by all tolerant minds of the present day, who see so many errors of the kind still exerting a more powerful sway, with the palliation that true charity would extend to them.

According to the constitution of the original Church, it had the following officers, chosen by the brethren. 1. 'Pastors, or teaching elders, who had the power of overseeing, teaching, administering the sacrament, and ruling too; and being chiefly to give themselves to studying, teaching, and the spiritual care of the flock, are therefore to be maintained. 2. Mere ruling elders,

who are to help the pastor in overseeing and ruling; and being also qualified in some degree to teach, they are to teach occasionally, through necessity, or in their pastor's absence or illness; but being not to give themselves to study or teaching, they have no need of maintenance.' 3. 'Deacons, who are to take care of the treasure of the church; to distribute for the support of the pastor, the supply of the needy, and the propagation of religion; and to minister at the Lord's table.' The office of ruling elder, however, did not continue for many years. In most churches it ceased in the first half century. In a few, it nominally remained nearly for a century later.

As we trace the history of the Church from its foundation to the present time, many modifications of its opinions may of course be observed. Its members first associated themselves together under a very simple and liberal covenant. The first covenant on record is as follows:

1676. 'The war continuing and also sickness, the church set apart April 19, for fasting and prayer, and also May 30, for the same grounds. The General Court in June, being sensible of the heavy hand of God upon the country, in the continuance of war with the heathen, appointed a day of humiliation to be kept, 22 day of it, and added thereto a solemn motion to all our churches to renew a covenant engagement to God for reformation of all provoking evils. The church attended that day of prayer, and then the elders appointed a church meeting to be on June 29.

The church then all met. Our church meetings were ever begun and attended with prayer, (the Pastor ordinarily beginning and the Elder concluding therewith) After prayer for God's direction and blessing in so solemn a matter, a church covenant was read, and the church voted that it should be left upon record as that which they did own to be the substance of that covenant which their fathers entered into at the first gathering of the church, which was in these words following:

'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in obedience to his holy will and divine ordinances,

We being by the most wise and good Providence of God brought together in this place, and desirous to unite ourselves into one congregation or church under the Lord Jesus Christ our head, that it may be in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed and sanctified to himself, we do hereby, solemnly and religiously, (as in his most holy presence) avouch the Lord Jehovah the only true God to be our God, and the God of ours, and do promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the Gospel, and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual love to, and watchfulness over one another, depending wholly and only upon the Lord our God to enable us by his grace hereunto!''

This remained for a long period as the Covenant of the Church. At a later time, when questions of doctrine became in a greater degree the subject of

thought, the church adopted a more precise statement of its general opinions as articles of faith. But the principle of individual freedom of conscience, asserted by the fathers, at last vindicated itself; and in 1799, upon the death of the Pastor, Rev. Chandler Robbins, D. D, the liberal men of the time became the majority, and settled a Pastor in accordance with their own views, by a vote of 23 to 15, on the part of the Church, and of 253 to 15, on the part of the Congregation. The Church is now Unitarian.

Among the events specially affecting the prosperity of this Church, was the frequent formation of new congregations from its numbers in different periods in its history. Some were formed for the convenience of inhabitants living at a distance, and some on account of differences in religious faith. As these may be more particularly noticed in other pages of this book, they are merely named here in the order of time for convenient reference.

1. In 1632, a church was formed from the Plymouth Church in Duxbury. This still remains as the First Church, in Duxbury.

2. In 1633 or 4, or near that time, another was established at Green's harbor in Marshfield.

3. In 1644, a part of the church removed to Eastham, and established a church there, which is still remaining.

4. In 1698, another church was established in the territory now constituting the town of Plympton, and which remains as the First Church in that town.

5. In 1717, the inhabitants of the north part of the town formed themselves into what was then called the Jones' River Parish. This remains as the First Church in Kingston.

6. In 1731, a precinct was made at Manomet Pond in Plymouth, and on November 8th, 1747, a church was embodied there, which now remains as the Second Congregational Church in Plymouth.

7. In 1711, a new church was formed from the old, in the village of Plymouth, on account of the dissatisfaction of many members with the conduct of Mr. Leonard the pastor, in countenancing the itinerant preaching and revival measures of that day. It was called the Third Church in Plymouth. It continued a separate society until 1783, when its members were reunited with the First Church.

8. In 1801, the minority of the First Church were organized into the Third Church in Plymouth, which still remains under the name of the Church of the Pilgrimage.

9. In 1809, a Baptist Church was formed in the town.

10. In 1814, a church was established at Eel River, now called Chiltonville, by members from the First and Third churches, for the convenience of inhabitants in that section of the town. This is called the Fourth Congregational church in Plymouth.

11. In 1822, March 11th, a Universalist Society was established by seceders from the First Parish.

Since that date, other Societies have been estab-

lished in the town, whose members have gathered from various quarters, and whose names and dates will be elsewhere given.

MINISTERS OF THE FIRST CHURCH AND THOSE WHO OFFICIATED AS ITS TEACHERS.

As has been already stated, it was the intention of John Robinson, pastor of the Leyden Church to emigrate to Plymouth He was therefore considered the Pastor of that church until his death. He was born in 1575. The place of his birth is not known. He entered Emanuel College, Cambridge, in 1592. It is not known in what year he received his first degree. He had the degree of A. M. in 1600, and of B. D in 1607. Previously to his election as the Pastor of the Pilgrim's Church, he had a benefice near Yarmouth, in Norfolk. He died at Leyden, March 1st, 1625, and was buried March 4th, at St. Peter's Church. He was a man of great power, and extraordinary character. It is sufficient to mark his character, to say that he seems worthy to have been the leader and guide of the Pilgrims. The authenticity of the farewell discourse to the Pilgrims, so often quoted, has of late been questioned. But, however that may be settled, his remaining letters are abundant evidence of the largeness of his thought, and the nobleness of his spirit. He was the author

of many books, both previous to his departure from England, and during his residence at Leyden. The following is the farewell address of Robinson as contained in Winslow's brief narration.

'We are now ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever he should live to see our faces again. But whether the Lord had appointed it or not, he charged us before God and his blessed angels, to follow him no further than he followed Christ; and if God should reveal any thing to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy word. He took occasion also miserably to bewail the state and condition of the Reformed Churches, who were come to a period in religion, and would go no further than the instruments of their Reformation. As, for example, the Lutherans, they could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; for whatever part of God's will he had further imparted and revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And so also, saith he, you see the Calvinists, they stick where he left them; a misery much to be lamented; for though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them; and were they now living, saith he, they would be as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received. Here also he put us in mind of our church covenant, at least that part of it whereby

we promise and covenant with God and one with another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written word; but withal exhorted us to take heed what we received for truth, and well to examine and compare it and weigh it with other Scriptures of truth before we received it. For, saith he, it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

'Another thing he commended to us, was that we should use all means to avoid and shake off the name of Brownist, being a mere nickname and brand to make religion odious and the professors of it to the Christian world. And to that end, said he, I should be glad if some godly minister would go over with you before my coming; for, said he, there will be no difference between the unconformable ministers and you, when they come to the practice of the ordinances out of the kingdom. And so advised us by all means to endeavor to close with the godly party of the kingdom of England, and rather to study union than division, viz how near we might possibly without sin close with them, than in the least measure to affect division or separation from them. And be not loath to take another pastor or teacher, saith he; for that flock that hath two shepherds is not endangered but secured by it.'

In 1624, one John Lyford came over to be the pastor of the church, but in consequence of his

factious conduct was sentenced to be expelled from the Colony.

No minister was settled over the church until 1629. In the mean time Mr. William Brewster, the ruling elder, discharged the duties of a pastor. He was a man of great piety, and peculiar gifts. He was born in 1564. He passed some time in Cambridge, and served William Davison, Secretary of State under Elizabeth, for some years, with much honor. He was one of the chief sufferers on account of the first attempt for a removal to Holland in 1607. It is supposed that he would have been chosen Governor of the Colony had he not been the ruling elder of the church. His own modesty would not permit him to be chosen its pastor. He was the author of several works. He died April 16th, 1644, being about fourscore years old.

1629. In this year, Mr. Ralph Smith was ordained as the first pastor of the church. He was educated at Christ's College in Cambridge, and received his first degree in 1613. He seems to have been a man of piety and integrity; but his ministry was unsatisfactory, and in 1634 or 5 he resigned his office.

During this period, from 1631, Mr. Roger Williams officiated as minister, for about three years. His opinions however were not acceptable to the people, and at his own request he was dismissed to Salem.

In 1635–6 Mr. John Norton preached for a few months in Plymouth, but he declined to settle with the church, and went to Ipswich, and subsequently

to Boston, where he was greatly distinguished as a divine.

1636. In this year, Mr. John Rayner, educated at Magdalen College, Cambridge, where he received his first degree, in 1625, was ordained as the second pastor of the church. He was a man of great worth, and accomplished gifts. He continued in Plymouth until 1651, when, in consequence of the reduced state of the church, the connection was dissolved, to the great regret of the people. He went to Dover, N. H. where he died in 1669.

Early in his ministry, in 1637, Rev. Charles Chauncy became an assistant to Mr. Rayner, and remained for three years. He was greatly urged to continue as associate minister; but removed to Scituate, and afterwards became President of Harvard College.

From 1654 to 1667 there was no ordained Pastor. During a part of this period the chief difficulties with the Quakers occurred. From 1661 to 1666 Mr. James Williams and Mr. William Brimsmead officiated temporarily as ministers.

1667. Mr. John Cotton Jr. son of Rev. John Cotton of Boston, commenced his ministerial services in 1667, and on June 30th 1669, he was settled as the third ordained minister of the church. Mr. Cotton continued in that office for 30 years, when in consequence of internal divisions in the church he resigned. After remaining in Plymouth a short time he went to Charleston, S. C. to be settled in the ministry there. He died at Charleston, Sept. 18th, 1699. He was

born March 15th, 1639, 40, and graduated at Cambridge in 1657.

1697. Immediately after the resignation of Mr. Cotton, the church invited Mr. Ephraim Little, a graduate of Cambridge, in 1695, to officiate as its pastor. He was ordained Oct. 4th, 1699, and remained until his death, at the age of 47 years, Nov. 23, 1723. He was a man of useful and exemplary life, and was the first minister of the church that was buried in the town.

1721. Mr. Nathaniel Leonard, a graduate of Cambridge, in 1719, was ordained as the pastor of the church, July 29th. During his ministry Mr. Whitefield visited Plymouth; and, in consequence of Mr. Leonard's favoring of what were called 'new light measures,' a division took place in the church. He remained until 1757, when, in consequence of bodily infirmities, he asked a dismission, and removed to Norton.

1760. After having heard many candidates, Jan. 30th, 1760, Rev. Chandler Robbins was ordained as minister of the church. He was born at Branford, Connecticut, Aug. 21th, 1738, and graduated at Yale College in 1756. His ministry continued until his death, June 30th, 1799, at the age of 61 years. He was a distinguished minister of his time. He received the degree of D. D. from Dartmouth College, in 1792, and from the University of Edinburgh, in 1793.

1800. Jan. 1st, 1800, Mr. James Kendall, a native of Sterling, Mass. and a graduate of Cambridge in

1796, was ordained. Dr. Kendall received the degree of D. D. at Cambridge, in 1825, and still continues as the senior minister of the church.

1838. Jan. 3d, 1838, George W. Briggs, a native of Little Compton, R. I and a graduate at Brown University, was installed as associate minister.

RULING ELDERS OF THE FIRST CHURCH OF PLYMOUTH.

William Brewster from the organization of the church in England to his death in 1644, aged 84.

1617. Thomas Cushman—died in 1691, aged 84.

1699. Thomas Faunce " " 1645, " 99.

After this period the office of Elder was discontinued.

DEACONS OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN PLYMOUTH.

John Carver, Samuel Fuller, } chosen previous to the embarcation from Leyden in 1620.

Richard Marsterson, Thomas Blossom, } about 1630. Robert Finney, Ephraim Morton, } 1667.

John Doane, William Paddy, John Cook, John Durham, } 1634. Thomas Faunce, 1686. George Morton, Nathaniel Wood, Thomas Clark, } 1694.

John Foster, } 1716.
John Atwood, }
Haviland Torrey, } 1727.
Thomas Clark, }
Thomas Foster, }
Joseph Bartlett, } 1715.
John Torrey, }

Ephraim Spooner, 1784.
Jonathan Diman, 1784.
John Bishop, 1797.
Lemuel Drew, 1812.
William P. Ripley, 1818.
Rosseton Cotton, 1822.
* Ichabod Morton, 1831.

William Crombie, 1776.

UNION OF THE COLONIES OF PLYMOUTH AND MASSACHUSETTS.

This event occurred in the year 1692. The Government of Plymouth Colony had previously endeavored to procure a separate Charter, and in 1790 had appointed Sir Henry Ashurt, of England, Reverend Increase Mather, of Boston, and Reverend Ichabod Wiswell, of Duxbury, as agents to procure the same from William and Mary, who succeeded the turbulent and tyrannical reign of James the 2d. The efforts of Mr. Wiswell to secure a charter, were earnest and unremitting, but proved unavailing. Had sufficient pecuniary means existed at the time, it seems probable that the object in view would have been attained. A charter was obtained for Massachusetts, which was signed October 7th, 1691, and Plymouth Colony was included, after a separate existence of seventy-one years.

* Resigned.

The last court of Election was held at Plymouth in June, and the deputies from Plymouth were John Bradford and Isaac Cushman. Mr. Hinkley was re-elected governor, and William Bradford deputy governor.

In 1692, Sir William Phips arrived at Boston, with the new charter on the 14th of May. He was commissioned governor in chief, in their majesty's name, William and Mary, and summoned a court to assemble on the 8th of June. The province of Massachusetts Bay proceeded to organize under the new charter, and the union of the two Colonies was soon perfected.

By the new Charter, Plymouth was entitled to four of the 28 Counsellers, and the names of Thomas Hinkley, William Bradford, John Walley, and Barnabas Lothrop, were designated for that purpose. The qualifications of electors according to the warrant for election, was 'a freehold of 40 shillings per annum, or other property of the value of 40 pounds sterling.' The old general court, however, met at Plymouth on the first Tuesday of July for the last time. They appointed the last Wednesday of August to be kept as a day of fasting and humiliation. Some distinguished individuals were dissatisfied with the union of the Colonies. The following remarks of Judge Davis, in his valuable appendix to the New England Memorial, page 477, are here subjoined, to which work the reader is referred for a more extended account of proceedings relative to the

charter. 'It is to the honor of Massachusetts, that none have had reason to regret a comprehension within her jurisdiction, and that her history, in every stage of her progress, exhibits multiplied instances of magnanimity, public spirit, and regard to the best interests of man.'

The first General Court, under the New Charter, June 8th, passed an act, declaring that all the laws of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and the Colony of New Plymouth, not being repugnant to the laws of England, nor inconsistent with the charter, should remain in force in the respective colonies until the 10th of November, 1692, excepting in cases where other provision should be made by law.

Mr. Baylies observes in his valuable Memoir of Plymouth Colony, that, 'with respect to political objects, previous to the year 1636, the Plymouth Colony may be considered to have been but a voluntary association, ruled by the majority and not by fixed laws. It does not appear except in a few instances, that they had availed themselves of their delegated powers under their patent to enact laws until 1633.'

A few laws only, and such as were of the most urgent necessity were then established, such as declaring every one within the jurisdiction liable to the performance of military duty; 'giving the jurisdiction of the probate of wills, and of granting adminstrations to the governor and assistants;' regulating fishing and fowling; authorizing constables and persons trespassed upon to impound cattle taken in *damage peasant.*

Penalties were inflicted on such as fired the woods. Lands of persons deceased were made liable for their debts in case of the insufficiency of personal property.'

Besides these laws, provision was made for protecting the forests and preventing waste, for guarding against fire, by prohibiting the use of thatch for covering the roofs of their houses, a resort to which was necessary at the first settlement.*

On the 15th of November, 1636, at a court of associates, the following declaration was ordered: 'We the Associates of New Plymouth, coming hither as free born subjects of the State of England, and endowed with all and singular, the privileges belonging to such, being assembled, do ordain that no act, imposition, law, or ordinance be made or imposed upon us at the present or to come, but such as shall be made and imposed by consent of the body of the associates, or their representatives legally assembled, which is according to the liberties of the State of England.' Respecting this order, Mr. Baylies observes, 'This is the first declaration of rights, if not of independence, and the laws which followed

* In the year 1623, the following appears on the first book of Old Colony records page 4, in the hand writing of Gov. Bradford.

'It was ordained 17th day of desemb. anno. 1623, by the court then held; that all crimynall facts; and also all matters of trespasses; and debts between man and man should be tried, by the verdict of twelve honest men, to be impaneled by authority, in form of a jurie upon their oathes.'

became absolutely necessary for the preservation of government.' It was enacted that on the first Tuesday of June, a governor and seven assistants should be chosen, to 'rule and govern the plantation within the limits of this corporation, and the election was restricted to the freemen, twenty-one years of age, of sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion, having a valuable estate of twenty pounds. All these qualifications were required, before any persons could be admitted to the oath prescribed to be taken by freemen. In 1620 up to 1624, there was but one assistant to the governor, at which latter period the number was increased to five, and in 1632 to seven. For further information respecting the powers and duties of the government, the reader is referred to the Memoir of Plymouth Colony, to which allusion has already been made,

In 1638 the power which was in the whole body of freemen was transferred to committees or deputies from the several towns in the Colony, and they assembled for the first time in Plymouth, June, 1639. The deputies to this assembly from the town of Plymouth were William Paddy, Manassah Kempton, Jr., John Cook, Jr., and John Dunham.

GOVERNORS OF THE COLONY OF PLYMOUTH, FROM 1620 TO 1692.

Nov. 11, 1620, John Carver, four months and 24 days.

William Bradford from 1621 to 1632 — 1635 — 1637 1639 to 1643 — 1645 to 1656, 31 years in all.

Edward Winslow, 1633, 1636, 1644.

Thomas Prince, 1634, 1638, 1657 to 1672.

Josiah Winslow from 1673 to 1680.

Thomas Hinkley — 1681 to 1692.

There was no Lieutenant Governor till 1680. Before that period, the governor, when obliged to be absent, appointed one pro tempore. Their names were Thomas Hinkley, 1680, James Cudworth, 1681, Major William Bradford, 1682 to 1686, and 1689 to 1691.

There was no Secretary previous to 1636; and the records appear to have been previously kept by the respective Governors. The hand writing of Gov. Bradford is very legible, and resembles a modern hand; and the same may be said of Nathaniel Sowther or Souther.

The first Secretary was Nathaniel Souther, in 1636; the second, Nathaniel Morton, from 1645 to 1685; the third, Nathaniel Thomas, 1686; the fourth and last, Samuel Sprague, who, except the interruption by Andros, continued till the union of the colonies.

The Treasurers were William Paddy, in 1636. Thomas Prince, in 1637. Timothy Hatherly, in 1639. Jonathan Atwood, in 1641. Miles Standish, 1644 to 1649. John Alden, 3 years. Constant Southworth, 1662 to 1678. Afterwards William Bradford.

There was no Sheriff till 1685. Writs were originally served by an officer styled the Messenger. In 1645 he was styled Marshal, and had the power of appointing deputies. Constables, however, were chosen in each town, with the power to execute precepts, and collect rates. Upon the division into Counties in 1685, Sheriffs were appointed.

A Coroner was appointed at the beginning of the Colony, but the office was soon abolished, and the duty of taking inquisitions devolved upon the Constables.

There was no distinct office of Register of deeds, or of wills and inventories, but those duties were performed by the Secretary of the Colony.

In 1685 the Colony was divided into three Counties, namely, Plymouth, Barnstable, and Bristol.

PLYMOUTH COLONY RECORDS.

In the year 1818, three Commissioners, viz., James Freeman, Samuel Davis and Benjamin R. Nichols, 'were appointed by the Legislature of the State, and were authorized to cause the records to be transcribed, and afterwards to return the originals to the Reg-

ister of Deeds' Office in Plymouth, and to deposit the copies in the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth. Full Indexes were made to them, and the volumes were interleaved and new bound. The original charter of the Colony being considerably defaced, it was repaired and placed in a port folio, with the seal of the Plymouth Company in England annexed to it. The seal is about four inches in diameter. It was much broken, but the parts were carefully cemented and secured together, and inclosed in a case, so that the original impression may be seen.

The records are now arranged chronologically, and in such a manner that the legislative proceedings or court orders form six separate volumes; the wills and inventories four; deeds six; laws one; acts of Commissioners of United Colonies two. There is also an imperfect volume of the records of these Commissioners, being, as is supposed, their original minutes. There is also one volume of Indian deeds, bound up with the Treasurer's accounts, and lists of freemen, and one volume of actions, marriages, births, and deaths, making in the whole twenty-two volumes of original records.

The copies made from the above, (deposited in the Office of the Secretary of State,) form eleven folio volumes, and are indexed like the originals. The records of the Commissioners of the United Colonies were formerly transcribed and published by Ebenezer Hazard, Esq. They compose nearly the whole of

his second volume. This volume was compared by Mr. Nichols with the original records, and corrected by him, and the volume so corrected, is deposited with the copies above mentioned in the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth. They are kept in a separate case from the other records of the Commonwealth.

All the laws and legislative proceedings are copied, with such parts of the other records as were thought to be useful. The parts not copied are most of the private deeds, wills, and inventories. Care was taken to preserve in the copies the original paging and orthography.

The following statement will give a general view of the contents of the records —

There is nothing recorded in 1620, except a plan of the lots laid out at Plymouth.*

The next records are the allotments of land in 1623,† to the passengers in the Mayflower, Fortune, and Ann, and a law establishing the trial by jury.

In 1627 there was a division of the cattle among the inhabitants.‡

There are but few other records previous to 1632.

In that year the General Court of Plymouth began to keep a regular journal of their proceedings, which they continued to the close of the colony, excepting the years 1687 and 1688, during the government of Sir Edmund Andros.

* See page 123. † See page 124. ‡ See page 134.

In 1636, a code of laws was made with a preamble containing an account of the settlement of the Colony. Other laws were added at subsequent periods, and when any of the former were altered or repealed, this was done by making erasures and interlineations, instead of passing original acts. In the copy now made all these erasures and interlineations are noticed. In 1655 the laws were revised and entered in another book. Most of them were transcribed from the former code, and the dates when they were first enacted inserted in the margin. Other laws were inserted afterward till 1661, when they appear to have been again revised. A third book of laws was then made, similar to the former. This book contains all the laws passed from that time till 1682.

The laws of the colony thus existed in three separate parts. They are now bound together and indexed, and a complete copy made of them.

There was another code made in 1671, and printed. The manuscript of this code no longer exists. But one of the printed copies may be found in the library of the Historical Society, bound up with the laws of Massachusetts and Connecticut. This code is very different from the former. It contains some new laws, and omits most of those which before existed.

From these records a knowledge may be obtained of all the principal men who lived in the Colony, of the Governors, Assistants, Deputies, or Representatives, Selectmen of towns, and other civil officers,

military officers and freemen. There are lists of all the freemen in the Colony at several periods, also records of marriages, births, and deaths. The latter records, however, are imperfect.

Marriages were never solemnized by ministers, but magistrates were especially appointed for that service.*

FOREFATHER'S ROCK.

The Forefather's Rock, so attractive to the curiosity of visitors to the Old Colony, excepting that part of it which is now enclosed within the railing in front of Pilgrim Hall, retains the same position it occupied two hundred and twenty-six years ago, when the founders of New England first landed on our shores, and introduced the arts of civilization, the institutions of religion, civil government and education, upon the basis of just and equal rights, which from that memorable day to the present time, have secured the general good of the whole community, to an extent probably unexampled in any equal period of human experience. This rock, as described in the Geology of Plymouth, is an extremely hard variety of scienitic granite, of a dark grey color. The mica is in very small quantity, in fine black particles, and the rock, by its rounded edges, bears evidence of its

* The foregoing account is mostly extracted from the Mass. Hist. Collection, vol. 2, 3d series.

rolled character. This rock is now in two pieces, each piece about four feet through. That part now at the water's side is about six and a half feet in diameter. It is situated on the south side of the store now occupied by Phineas Wells at the head of Hedge's wharf, a few feet only from the same.

The stranger frequently inquires, is this the *veritable* rock which first received the Pilgrims? Happily we are able to answer his question with perfect confidence; volumes of history could not more satisfactorily attest the truth of its identity, than the venerable and unquestionable tradition on which it rests.

Besides the general and undisputed tradition which designates it as that on which the fathers landed, it was ascertained to be the same on an interesting occasion in the life of Elder Thomas Faunce, the last ruling elder in the first church of Plymouth, who was born in the year 1646, and died in the year 1745, at the advanced age of ninety-nine years. In the year 1741, the elder upon learning that a wharf was about to be built near, or over the rock, which up to that period had kept its undisturbed vigils at the water's edge, and fearing that the march of improvement might subject it to injury, expressed much uneasiness. Though residing three miles from the village of Plymouth, and then in declining health, he left home, and in the presence of many citizens, pointed out the rock we have described as being that on which the Pilgrims with whom he was cotemporary, and well acquainted, had uniformly declared to be the

same on which they landed in 1620. Upon this occasion this venerable and excellent man took a final leave of this cherished memorial of the fathers. The circumstances above related, were frequently mentioned by the late Hon. Ephraim Spooner deceased, who was present upon the occasion connected with Elder Faunce. He was deacon of the Church of Plymouth forty-one years, and fifty-two years town clerk, and died March, 1818, aged eighty-three years. The same information was communicated by Mrs. Joanna White, widow of Gideon White, deceased, who was intimately acquainted in the family of Elder Faunce. She died in 1810, aged ninety-five years. And the same account has been transmitted by other aged persons, now deceased, within the recollection of many now living.

On the anniversary celebration of the landing of the fathers in 1817, the late Rev. Horace Holly, deceased, delivered the customary address, and upon the morning of that day had some hours conversation with deacon Spooner, above mentioned, in relation to early times, and among other interesting reminiscences learnt from him the incidents above narrated. Deacon Spooner had for many years been accustomed to read the hymn 'Hail Pilgrims,' line by line according to an old practice of the church, in primitive times, and upon this occasion officiated for the last time. Mr. Holly inspired by his theme and the interview, in the course of his eloquent address, happily observed, 'our venerable friend knew and con-

versed with Elder Faunce, who personally knew the first settlers, so Polycarp conversed with St. John the beloved disciple of our Savior.'

In the year 1774, some ardent whigs, to render available the patriotic associations connected with the rock, undertook its removal to the town square, with the intention to place over it a liberty pole, as an excitement to vigorous efforts in the approaching revolutionary struggle, and to quicken the zeal of such persons as hesitated to join the standard of independence. In this attempt at removal, the rock split asunder, which excited, as tradition avers, great surprise among the citizens present, and by some was construed into a favorable omen, indicating the final separation of the colonies from the mother country. This unexpected accident led to some hesitation among the excited group assembled, and the conclusion was to lower the under part of the rock into its original bed, from which it had been elevated, and the other part was taken by twenty yoke of oxen to the public square, and honored with the far-famed Liberty pole, upon which an appropriate effusion of some patriotic son of liberty was placed, to rouse the passing citizen to greater ardor in the cause of his country.

These circumstances, in connection with the increasing curiosity of visitors, each of whom sought a small fragment, if no more, have sensibly diminished the size of the rock, rendering it necessary to prevent such depredations in future, lest the 'first stepping

stone to those who should come after,' might at last fail of a 'local habitation and a name.' These considerations, it is hoped, may in some degree relieve the disappointment occasionally expressed by strangers, on first viewing this rock. It should further be recollected that a mammoth rock of granite would have been inconvenient for the purpose of landing — particularly to the women and children who shared in the glorious event. It is gratifying to announce, that a public Town Meeting was recently held, at which it was voted to convey sufficient land to certain individuals, for the purpose of removing the store of Mr. Hedge, northward and eastward, leaving room to erect a suitable monument near the Rock, and to enclose the same with an iron railing, reserving sufficient land for an unincumbered walk round it. It has long been a subject of regret, that this memorial of the Landing has remained in its present situation, and there can be no doubt, that New England will cheerfully bestow the moderate sum required for an appropriate monument. On the fourth of July, 1834, that part of the rock which had been taken to the town square, was removed and placed in front of Pilgrim Hall, enclosed within an iron railing prepared for its reception, on which is inscribed the names of the forty-one individuals who subscribed the Compact on board the Mayflower, at Cape Cod harbor, Nov. 11, 1620.

The honor of first stepping upon the Rock is claimed by the descendants of Mary Chilton in her

behalf, and also by those of John Alden in his favor —resting upon tradition in both families. It is evident that neither of them had the honor of *first* landing upon it. This occurred on the 11th of Nov. 1620, old style, corresponding to Dec. 21st new style, when the shallop of the Mayflower having left on the 6th of December the harbor of Cape Cod, coasted along the shore and was finally driven by storm into Plymouth and found shelter at Clark's Island. She had then on board ten of the pilgrims, besides eighteen seamen, and their names are all mentioned in history, but the name of John Alden is not named as one of them. The Mayflower arrived and anchored about one and a half miles from the town, between Clark's Island and beach point. When the passengers went on shore, in the ship's boat, it is not improbable that some rivalship occurred between Mary Chilton and John Alden as to which should first land on the Rock: and the young gallant doubtless yielded his claim to the lady—as might be expected of the modest youth, who afterwards became the favored choice of Priscilla Mullins.* The conclusion, therefore, of the late Samuel Davis, Esq., may

* Tradition states, that Captain Standish, after the death of his wife, proposed a matrimonial alliance with Miss Mullins, the daughter of William Mullins, and that John Alden was engaged as the messenger to announce his wishes. But the lady, it seems, not so much enamored with the military renown of Standish as by the engaging address of the youthful advocate, dexterously hinted her opinion to that effect, by which course an end was put to all hope on the part of the distinguished military leader of the pilgrims.

be safely adopted, when he says, 'We are disposed however to generalize the anecdote. The first generation doubtless knew who came on shore in the first boats; the second generation related it with less identity; the fourth with still less: like the stone thrown on the calm lake, the circles well defined at first, become fainter as they recede. For the purpose of the arts however, a female figure, typical of faith, hope and charity, is well adapted.'

The late Dr. Dwight, president of Yale College, who visited Plymouth in the year 1800, expresses himself respecting the Rock in the following manner: 'No New Englander who is willing to indulge his native feelings, can stand upon the Rock, where our ancestors set the first foot after their arrival on the American shore, without experiencing emotions very different from those which are excited by any common object of the same nature. No New Englander could be willing to have that Rock buried and forgotten. Let him reason as much, as coldly, and ingeniously as he pleases, he will still regard that spot with emotions wholly different from those excited by other places of equal or greater importance.'

*'This Rock has become an object of veneration in the United States. I have seen bits of it carefully preserved in several towns of the Union. Does not this sufficiently show that all human power and greatness is in the soul of man? Here is a stone

* De Tocqueville's Work on America.

which the feet of a few outcasts pressed for an instant; and the stone becomes famous; it is treasured by a great nation; its very dust is shared as a relic. And what has become of the gateways of a thousand palaces? Who cares for them?'

*'Beneath us is the Rock, on which New England received the feet of the Pilgrims. We seem even to behold them, as they struggle with the elements, and with toilsome efforts gain the shore. We listen to the chiefs in council; we see the unexampled exhibition of female fortitude and resignation; we hear the whisperings of youthful impatience, and we see, what a painter of our own has also represented by his pencil, chilled and shivering childhood, houseless but for a mother's arms, couchless, but for a mother's breast, till our own blood almost freezes. The mild dignity of CARVER and of BRADFORD; the decisive and soldier-like air of STANDISH; the devout Brewster; the enterprising ALLERTON; the general firmness and thoughtfulness of the whole band; their conscious joy for dangers escaped; their deep solicitude about dangers to come; their trust in heaven; their high religious faith, full of confidence and anticipation: — all these seem to belong to this place and to be present upon this occasion, to fill us with reverence and admiration.'

* Webster's Centennial Address, Dec. 22, 1820.

THE SHIP MAYFLOWER.

Nobly the Mayflower bows,
While the dark wave she ploughs,
On to the west;
Till from the tempest's shock,
Proudly she lands her flock,
Where on old Plymouth-Rock
Freedom found rest.

The progress of time, and the course of human events, have contributed to invest the fortunes of the Mayflower with the deepest interest, and to confer upon this once peaceful herald of freedom to our shores, a celebrity achieved perhaps, by no other vessel known to the annals of maratime enterprise.

Her first voyage across the Atlantic was commenced under circumstances of obscurity hardly attracting the curiosity of the passing world, by men who had long endured the merciless inflictions of a persecuting age, and who might well have deemed it a privilege to escape the notoriety which would have exposed them to the contempt of those who dispensed the thunders of hierarchal power. High and holy as were their aspirations after righteousness, truth, and freedom, the most vivid imagination among them, could not even have dreamt of the consequences involved in the vast work which they were about commencing in the world's reformation.

They little thought how pure a light,
With years, should gather round that day;
How love should keep their memories bright,
How wide a realm their sons should sway.

But results have followed in the wake of the Mayflower, auspiciously affecting the condition of millions; results, which if the past afford any just indications of the future, present but faint glimpses only of what are destined to appear in ages to come.

The Mayflower, of 180 tons burthen, Capt. Jones, was chartered by the merchant adventurers, of London, to transport a part of the Leyden Church to America — the Speedwell having been procured in Holland, for the same purpose. The terms and arrangements prior to her leaving England, and the incidents connected with her eventful voyage, will be found in detail in the 5th Chapter of this work, page 39. She sailed from Southampton, August 5th, 1620; discovered Cape Cod on the 9th, and anchored there on the eleventh of November, having been ninety-eight days on the voyage. During the passage, a child was born named Oceanus, the son of Stephen Hopkins; and the only death was on the 6th of November, that of William Button, a youth, and servant of Dr. Samuel Fuller. On the 7th of December, Dorothy, the wife of Governor William Bradford, fell overboard and was drowned. On the fourth of December, Edward Thompson, the servant of William White, died. About the last of November, Peregrine, the son of William White was born. The

Mayflower, after remaining thirty-four days, left Cape Cod harbor on the 15th of December, and anchored Saturday the 16th, in Plymouth harbor, about one and a half miles from town, between Clark's Island and beach point. Here she remained during the winter, and afforded partial accommodations to the settlers, while preparing their houses on shore. In the spring, as Secretary Morton observes, 'They now began to hasten the ship away, which tarried so long by reason of the necessity and danger that lay on them, because so many died, both of themselves and the ship's company likewise, by which they became so few as the master durst not put to sea until those that lived recovered of their sickness, and the winter was over.' She sailed on the 5th of April, 1621, having been in Plymouth harbor one hundred and ten days, and arrived at London on the 6th of May, a short passage compared with the previous one, so full of delays, accidents, and dangers.

It was on board this ship, that the celebrated compact was signed by forty-one individuals. The last survivors of the Mayflower who signed the compact, were John Howland, who died in 1672, aged eighty years, and John Alden, who died 1686, aged 89. Mary, the daughter of Isaac Allerton, and the wife of Elder Thomas Cushman, the son of Robert Cushman, died in 1699 aged 90 and was the last of the one hundred passengers who arrived at Cape Cod harbor.

Mr. Savage observes, in a note to his invaluable edition of Winthrop's History of New England, 'that

the principal vessels which brought our fathers hither, are remembered by their descendants with no small degree of affection. The Mayflower had been a name of renown, without forming a part of this fleet,* because in her came the devoted planters of Plymouth, and she had also brought in the year preceding this, some of Higinson's companions to Salem.' It thus appears that Plymouth, Salem, and Boston, have a direct and peculiar interest in all that pertains to the successful history and fortunes of this vessel, which aided in transferring so many individuals from England to America.

Thomas Carlyle observes in his recent work, 'Look now at American Saxondom, and at that little fact of the sailing of the Mayflower, two hundred years ago. It was properly the beginning of America. There were straggling settlers in America before; some material as of a body was there; but the soul of it was this. These poor men, driven out of their own country, and not able to live in Holland, determined on settling in the new world. Black untamed forests are there, and wild savage creatures; but not so cruel as a star chamber hangman. They clubbed their small means together, hired a ship, the little ship Mayflower, and made ready to set sail. Hah! These men, I think, had a work. The weak thing, weaker than a child, becomes strong, if it be a true thing. Puritanism was only despicable, laughable, then; but no body can manage to laugh at it now.

* The fleet that brought over Gov. Winthrop and his colony.

It is one of the strongest things under the sun at present.'

With the following inimitable description of the Mayflower, on approaching the New England coast, we close this chapter.

*'Methinks I see it now, that one solitary, adventurous vessel, the Mayflower of a forlorn hope, freighted with the prospects of a future state, and bound across the unknown sea. I behold it pursuing, with a thousand misgivings, the uncertain, the tedious voyage. Suns rise and set, and weeks and months pass, and winter surprises them on the deep, but brings them not the sight of the wished for shore. I see them now scantily supplied with provisions, crowded almost to suffocation in their illstored prison, delayed by calms, pursuing a circuitous route;—and now driven in fury before the raging tempest, on the high and giddy waves. The awful voice of the storm howls through the rigging. The laboring masts seem straining from their base;—the dismal sound of the pumps is heard;—the ship leaps, as it were, madly, from billow to billow;—the ocean breaks, and settles with engulphing floods over the floating deck, and beats with deadening, shivering weight, against the staggered vessel. I see them, escaped from these perils, pursuing their all but desperate undertaking, and landed at last, after a five months passage, on the ice clad rocks of Plymouth,—weak and weary from the voyage,—poorly armed, scantily provisioned, depending on the

* Edward Everett.

charity of their ship-master for a draught of beer on board, drinking nothing but water on shore, — without shelter, — without means, — surrounded by hostile tribes. Shut now the volume of history, and tell me, on any principle of human probability, whta shall be the fate of this handful of adventurers. Tell me, man of military science, in how many months were they all swept off by the thirty savage tribes, enumerated within the early limits of New England? Tell me, politician, how long did this shadow of a colony, on which your conventions and treaties had not smiled, languish on the distant coast? Student of history, compare for me the baffled projects, the deserted settlements, the abandoned adventures of other times, and find the parallel of this. Was it the winter's storm, beating upon the houseless heads of women and children; was it hard labor and spare meals; was it disease; was it the tomahawk; was it the deep malady of a blighted hope, a ruined enterprise, and a broken heart, aching in its last moments, at the recollection of the loved and left, beyond the sea; was it some, or all of these united, that hurried this forsaken company to their melancholy fate? And is it possible that neither of these causes, that not all combined, were able to blast this bud of hope? Is it possible, that from a beginning so feeble, so frail, so worthy, not so much of admiration as of pity, there has gone forth a progress so steady, a growth so wonderful, an expansion so ample, a reality so important, a promise, yet to be fulfilled, so glorious?'

LEYDEN STREET AND TOWN SQUARE.

This street received its present name in the year 1823, in grateful remembrance of the hospitality and kindness, shown to the pilgrims during their residence of eleven years in the city of Leyden.

It was originally named *First street*, and afterwards is in the records, sometimes called Great, and Broad street.

Among the principal considerations which determined the fathers of New England, to settle in Plymouth, was its favorable position for defence against the aborigines, and the excellent springs of pure water which abound along its shores, and the precipitous banks of town brook. The tide flowed for some distance up this stream, and formed a convenient basin for the reception and safe shelter, of the shallops and other vessels employed in their early enterprises of fishing and traffic. It may in some measure be owing to this circumstance, that convenient wharves along the unprotected shores were not sooner constructed.

This stream proceeds from Billington sea, which is about two miles distant from town. It furnishes a valuable water power in modern times, and in the days of the pilgrims and for nearly two centuries after it abounded with alewives, almost at their doors, affording an important resource for the supply

of their wants. On the banks and vicinity of this stream, they constructed their humble dwellings, and spent the first winter after their arrival, and experienced the keenest sufferings and sharpest trials. Had not their voyage across the Atlantic been treacherously delayed, and protracted to an unusual length, they would doubtless have arrived in season to secure a shelter before the advance of winter.

They first constructed a frame building, twenty feet square, for their common house, and soon after other buildings for their stores and provisions. It stood partly on the lot occupied by the dwelling house of Capt. Samuel D. Holmes, on the south side of Leyden street, near the declivity of the hill towards the water side. In the year 1801, when some men were digging a cellar on this spot, several tools and a plate of iron were discovered, seven feet below the surface of the earth, which were carefully preserved and highly valued, by the late Isaac Lathrop Esq. who died in 1808, whose cherished veneration for the fathers will be long remembered by our citizens.

On the 28th of December in the afternoon, they measured out their grounds, intending to build two rows of houses on each side of the street commencing in town square, by which arrangement they might the better find protection from the fortification above, on the burying hill. On reference to page 62, the reader will find a detailed account of their pro-

ceedings, and on page 123 an imperfect plan of their lots. The whole company was divided into 19 families, averaging nearly six to a family; and the lots were assigned allowing 8 1-4 feet to each person.* Edward Winslow in his letter of Dec. 11th, 1621, which may be found page 94, writes, 'We have built seven dwelling-houses, and four for the use of the plantation.' These seven houses were doubtless built on the seven lots indicated on the plan above referred to, and four of them probably occupied the ground on or above where the town house now stands, and the other three commencing at the opposite corner, extended towards the common house.

On the 14th of January those on board the ship proposed going on shore to join their brethren in keeping the first sabbath. At 6 o'clock in the morning however, they observed the common house on fire, but on account of low water could render no aid till three-fourths of an hour afterwards. The thatch with which the roof was covered caught from a spark, and instantly burnt up, but the building was saved. Carver and Bradford were sick at the time, and the room was crowded with beds, loaded muskets and

* Dr. Young in his Chronicles, in a note, page 170, says, the single lots were 8 1-4 feet front, and 49 1-2 feet in depth. This appears erroneous, and assumes for a whole family what was the portion of a single *person* in the family. The dimensions of the lots, each *person* being allowed one-half a pole, would be from 2 1-2 to 3 rods in front and three rods in depth, for sufficient gardens, according to the size of each family.

powder, but they happily escaped without personal injury, though not without pecuniary loss.

Of the 100 persons who came in the Mayflower, a large portion soon died, from the exhaustion and disease occasioned by their explorations at Cape Cod, and the severe labors required to provide a shelter. Had not the winter of 1620 been one of unusual mildness, a careful examination of all the circumstances of their condition at that period, authorizes the conclusion, that not a solitary individual would have survived to recount the melancholy story of an untimely fate.

The following is a bill of mortality preserved by Prince, from the manuscripts of Gov. Bradford:

Deaths in December,	6
" in January,	8
" in February,	17
" in March,	13
Total,	44

Of this number (their names may be found on page 46) twenty-one were subscribers to the Compact,	21
Dorothy, wife of Bradford, Rose, wife of Standish, Mary, wife of Allerton, and Susanna, wife of Winslow,	4
Also Edward Thompson, the servant of	

William White, Jasper Carver, the son of Gov. Carver, and Solomon, the son of Christopher Martin, ...	3
Other women, children and servants, whose names are not known, ...	16
	44
To the above should be added six more, including Gov. Carver and his wife, who died before the Fortune arrived, in Nov. 1621,	6
	50

At this time therefore, there were only 50 survivors.

Of those not named among the survivors, young men, women, children and servants, there were 31. Of these, as may be seen in the division of lands in 1623, were Joseph Rogers, son of Thomas Rogers, Mary Chilton, daughter of James Chilton, Henry Samson and Humility Cooper. The names of the surviving 19 who subscribed the Compact may be found on reference to page 46. An alarm occurred in July, 1621, occasioned by a rumor of hostile intentions on the part of the Narragansett Indians, and only nine men were in Plymouth, while the rest were on an expedition to Nauset (Cape Cod.) How small a number to meet the emergencies of that period!

In the Common-house, according to tradition received from an aged relative by the late Isaac

Lathrop, Esq. who died in 1808, as mentioned by Judge Davis in a note to the N. E. Memorial, the celebrated sermon of Robert Cushman was delivered, some time in the month of November or December 1621. In this sermon he enforced with great earnestness the importance of self denial, and pointed out the special duties devolving on those who undertake the settlement of new countries.

Early in the morning, March 16th, Samoset, an Indian * Sagamore, a native of the eastern country, crossing town brook, where the arched bridge is, 'he very boldly came all alone and along the houses, straight to the Rendesvous.' He doubtless passed the houses then building at the corner of Leyden and Market streets, passing on to the Common-house. The reader is here referred to page 72 for a minute description of Samoset and the information he imparted.

On the 22d, Massasoit the Indian chief appeared on the top of Watson's Hill with his train of 60 men and Quadaquina his brother. The occurrences of the interesting interview which followed are minutely detailed on page 77, to which the reader is referred. The first New England treaty was here concluded in one of the houses, 'then in building,' which was kept inviolate by both parties for more

* Samoset was probably from the eastern country — some where in the region of Penobscot. After the treaty with Massasoit no mention of him occurs in history.

than 50 years; an honorable evidence of the upright purposes and just dealings of our fathers, towards the Indian race, which deserves to be held in everlasting remembrance by their posterity.

The first parsonage house was built in this street, and stood east of the present one, embracing the lots on which now stand the houses of the late Barnabas Churchill and James Bartlett. The lot, half an acre, on which the present parsonage house stands, was given March 1, 1664, to the first church, by Mrs. Bridget Fuller and Samuel Fuller, the excellent widow and son of Samuel Fuller, who came in the Mayflower in 1630, and died in 1633. It is now occupied by Dr. James Kendall, senior pastor of the first church, who was settled in the ministry, January 1st, 1800, and is now in the 77th year of his age.

The following vivid delineation of the scene of suffering which occurred among the Pilgrims during the first winter, is from the same pen to which the reader's attention has before been invited. The author after referring to the heroic achievements of Theremopylæ, thus proceeds:

'And yet do you not think, that whoso could, by adequate description, bring before you that winter of the pilgrims, its brief sunshine, the nights of storms slow waning; the damp and icy breath, felt to the pillow of the dying, its destitutions, its contrasts with all their former experience in life, its utter insulation and loneliness, its death beds and burials; its memories; its hopes; the consultations of the

prudent; the prayers of the pious; the occasional cheerful hymn, in which the heart threw off its burthen, and asserting its unvanquished nature, went up to the skies—do ye not think that whoso would describe them, calmly waiting in that defile, lonelier and darker than Thermopylæ, for a morning that might never dawn, or might show them when it did, a mightier arm than a Persian, raised in act to strike, would he not sketch a scene of more difficult and rare heroism? A scene as Wadsworth has said, 'melancholy, yea dismal, yet consolatory and full of joy; a scene even better fitted, to succor, to exalt, to lead the forlorn hopes of all great causes till time shall be no more!' '

Town Square. This first house of public worship, was built in this place. History affords nothing definite respecting a place of public worship in Plymouth, previous to 1622, though from incidental hints, it may be inferred, that the common house was used for that purpose. In 1622 a fort was erected on the hill, and so constructed as to combine both the means of defence and accommodations for public worship, as is particularly mentioned by the early historians.

In the year 1837, one of the planters gave by will 'somewhat,' to 'Plymouth meeting house.' Richard Church, the father of Col. Church, and John Tomson, who afterward settled in Middleborough, were the architects, and Capt. Thomas Willet, was one of

the contracting committee, as appears from a suit of law recorded in 1662, which has reference to them as such. That it stood on the north side of Town Square, is clearly inferred, from the fact that in 1696, William Bradford, son of the Governor, sold land there situated, which is alluded to *as the spot where the old meeting house stood.* This, observes the late Samuel Davis, Esq., who possessed every advantage for accurate information on the subject, 'this is all the description we shall ever probably obtain, of this *ancient sanctuary* where a *Reynor* and a *Cotton,* broke the bread of life, where a *Brewster* and a *Cushman* ruled in holy things.' It had a bell, but no dimensions are on record.

This house was taken down in 1683, when another was built. It stood, not upon the old lot, but at the head of Town Square, the front of it was considerably lower down the square, than the present church. It was 45 feet by 40.

There is a drawing of this church extant, made by the late Samuel Davis, from the dimensions given in the records, and from information otherwise obtained, which is doubtless a correct representation.

In 1744. A third house was erected, on and near the same spot of the former, being 71 feet 10 inches in front, and 67 feet 8 inches deep. Its spire 100 feet high was surmounted by a brass weathercock.

In 1831. The present Gothic House was built by the first church. It measures 61 by 70 feet, and cost about $10,000.

The church of the Pilgrimage was erected in 1840, that society having previously worshiped in their house on training Green which was built in 1801. This house was dedicated Nov. 24, 1840. The body of the church is 68 by 59 feet, with a tower 26 feet square. It contains 92 pews on the lower floor, and 80 seats in the organ loft, and will accommodate about 700 people. 'It received its name in commemoration of the pilgrimage of our puritan fathers to this place, and stands near the site of the church they first erected for worship.

The Town, formerly the County House, was built in the year 1748. It was in that day esteemed one of the best models of architecture. The front door was originally at the east end, with a handsome flight of steps. It was planned by Judge Oliver of Middleboro'. The town paid 1000 pounds old tenor, towards the building, having the privilege to use it for a town house, and when the New Court House was built in 1820, they purchased it of the county.

The elm trees in this square, were set out in the year 1783, by the late Thomas Davis, Esq., and were brought by him from Portsmouth, N. H.

'Let strangers walk around
The city where we dwell,
Compass and view thine holy ground,
And mark the building well.'

COLE'S HILL.

Cole's Hill * is an open green spot fronting the harbor, a short distance above Forefathers Rock, commanding a beautiful view of the ocean and high lands, by which the bay is encircled. It was the first burial ground of the pilgrims. On inspection it will be found to have undergone considerable changes, since its first consecration as a temporary receptacle of the dead. In the year 1735, a severe storm occurred, and large quantities of water rushing through Middle street, washed away some portion of the banks, carrying in its current the remains of several bodies, deposited there in the winter of 1620, and spring of 1621. In the year 1809, a human scull was disinterred, the teeth of which were in a perfect state of preservation. The traditions respecting this place, and its consecrated uses by the Pilgrims, were received from the same unquestionable sources, as are mentioned in the account of Forefather's Rock on page 176 of this work, and are stated by Dr. Holmes, in his American Annals, and by the venerable Judge Davis, in a note to his edition of the New England Memorial, to have been received by them many years ago.

* This hill derives its name from James Cole, the first occupant, who lived there in the year 1637, at the end of North street, then called New street, on the south side. This lot embraced that now owned by the heirs of the late Capt. William Davis, and the Drew estate adjoining, and extended to Middle street.

The suffering, death, and funeral solemnities, of which this spot was once the trying scene, have been the subject of a description so consonant to the most elevated principles of our nature, that no better service can be rendered to every thoughtful observer, than its transcription into these pages.

*'In a late undesigned visit to Plymouth, I sought the spot where their earlier dead were buried. It was a bank you remember, somewhat elevated below the town and between it and the water, near and looking forth upon the waves, symbol of what life had been to them; ascending inland, behind and above the rock, a symbol of that rock of ages, on which the dying had rested in the final hour. As the Pilgrim found these localities, you might stand on that bank and hear the restless waters chafe and melt against its steadfast bank; the unquiet of the world composed itself at the portals of the grave. On that spot have laid to rest together, the earth carefully smoothed down that the Indian might not count the number, the true, the pious, the beautiful, and the brave, till the heavens be no more. There certainly was buried the first Governor, (Carver,) 'with three vollies of shot fired over him;' and there was buried Rose the wife of Miles Standish.

'You shall go to them,' wrote Robinson in the same letter from which I have read, 'but they shall not return to you.'

* Choate's Oration delivered before the New England Society, at New York, Dec. 22, 1844.

'I can seem to see, on a day quite towards the close of their first month of March, a diminished procession of the Pilgrims, following another dearly loved and newly dead, to that brink of graves; and pausing sadly there, before they shall turn away to see that face no more. In full view from that spot, is the Mayflower, still riding at her anchor, but to sail in a few days more for England, leaving them alone, the living and the dead, to the weal or woe of their new home. I cannot say what was the entire emotion of that moment and that scene, but the tones of the venerated elder's voice, as they gathered round him, were full of cheerful trust; and they went to hearts as noble as his own! This spot; he might say, 'this line of shore, yea, this whole land grows dearer, daily, were it only for the precious dust which we have committed to its bosom. I would sleep here, when my own hour comes, rather than elsewhere, with those who have shared with us in our exceeding labors, and whose burdens are now unloosed forever. I would be near them in the last day, and have a part in their resurrection. And now,' he proceeded, 'let us go from the side of the grave to work with all our might what we have to do. It is in my mind that our night of sorrow is well nigh ended, and that the joy of our morning is at hand. The breath of the pleasant southwest is here, and the singing of birds. The sore sickness is stayed, somewhat more than half our number remain, and among them some of our best and wisest, though others have fallen

asleep. Matter of joy and thanksgiving to Almighty God it is, that among you all, the living and the dead, I know not one, even when disease had touched him, and sharp grief had made his heart as a little child's, who desired, yea, who could have been entreated to go back to England by yonder ship. Plainly it is his will, that we stand or fall here. All his providences, these three hundred years, declare it, as with beams of the sun. Did he not set his bow in the clouds, in that bitter hour of embarking, and build his glorious arch upon the sea, for us to sail through hitherward? Wherefore, let us stand to our lot! If he prosper us we shall found a church, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail; and a colony, a nation, by which all the nations shall be healed, and shall be saved. Millions shall spring from our loins, and trace back with lineal love, their blood to ours. Centuries hereafter, in great cities, the capitols of mighty states, and from the tribes of a common and happy Israel, shall come together, the good, the distinguished, the wise, to remember our dark day of small things; yea, generations shall call us blessed.

'Without a sign, calmly, with triumph, they turned away from the grave; they sent the Mayflower away and went back, those stern, strong men, to their imperial labors.'

THE BURYING HILL.

The pilgrim fathers are at rest:
When summer's throned on high,
And the world's warm breast is in verdure drest,
Go, stand on the hill where they lie.

This hill was originally called the fort hill, from the circumstance, of its occupation for defensive purposes immediately after the landing. The first encounter with the natives at Eastham as mentioned page 55, though decisively resulting in the defeat of the Indians by the pilgrims, naturally inspired apprehensions of future hostility from the same quarter. Under these circumstances, their first measure of precaution was the erection of a platform on the hill, upon which their ordnance was placed, as a protection to the dwellings, which they designed to build in two rows directly below. The site of the ancient fort is distinctly marked, on the southeast part of the hill, which overlooks the bay and surrounding country in every direction. It was connected by a pathway through what is now Spring street to the town brook, near which is Pilgrim spring as found on the Map. In the year 1622, according to Morton and other historians, 'They built a fort with good timber both strong and comely, which was of good defence, made with a flat roof and battlements, on which fort their ordnance was mounted, and where they kept constant watch, especially

in time of danger It served them also for a meeting-house, and was fitted accordingly for that use.' These precautions were taken at the time of threatened hostility from Canonicas, the distinguished and powerful Sachem of the Narraganset Indians. In September, 1642, according to the town records, it was agreed that every man should bring two pieces more, eight feet long, to finish the fortification on the fort-hill, and that Richard Church shall speedily build the carriage for another piece of ordnance. Sept. 23d, 1643. It is agreed upon by the whole, that there shall be a watch-house forthwith built of brick and that Mr Grimes will sell us the brick at 11s. a thousand. This is the first instance in which brick are mentioned. In September of the same year, the whole township was classed in a watch, six men and a corporal assigned to a watch, 'when Gov. Bradford, Mr. Prince, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Jenney, Mr. Paddy, Mr. Souther were chosen the council of war. Twenty-one individuals living at Jones River and Wellingsley were appointed with others in town to keep watch twenty-four hours, from sunset to sunset, in regard to the danger of the Indians'— those in the town according to order given Nathaniel Souther and Thomas Southworth, appointed masters of the watch. Arrangements were at the same time made in case of alarm at Plymouth, Duxbury, and Marshfield, that from the two former places twenty men should repair to the scene of danger and ten from the latter. Beacons were placed on Gallows hill, and

Captain's hill in Duxbury — and on the hill by Mr. Thomas' house in Marshfield — to be fixed as signals in case of danger. In the month of February, 1676, the apprehension of danger from King Philip led to more extensive and formidable defences of this point than had been made at any previous period.*

There exists no historical account of the time when this hill first became the place of sepulchre. It has

* February 19th, 1675. 'It was ordered by the town that there shall be forthwith a fortification built at Plymouth, to be an hundred foot square, the palisadoes to be 10 feet and a half long, to be set two foot and a half in the ground, and to be set against a post and a rail. Every man is to do three foot of the said fence of the fortification. The palisadoes are to be battered on the back side, one against every two and sharpened on the tops — to be accomplished by every male in each family from 16 years and upwards. And that there shall be a watch-house erected within the said fence or fortification and that the three pieces of ordnance shall be placed within the said fence or fortification. Agreed with Nathaniel Southworth to build the said watch-house, which is to be 16 feet in length and 12 feet in breadth and eight stud, to be walled with board and to have two floors, the upper floor to be six feet above the lower floor, and he is to batten the walls and to make a small pair of stairs in it, and to frame two small windows below, to make two gables to the roof on each side, and to cover the roof with shingles. And to build a chimney in the said house and to do all the work thereunto, only the frame is to be brought to the place at the town's charge and for the said work he is to have eight pounds.' At the close of this war, which resulted in the permanent security of N. England against the natives, this fort was no longer needed and was sold. The last mention of it in the town records was in 1679, when the watch-house was given to Samuel Jenney, to occupy it or remove the same if he thought fit. The cannon were used for the defence of Cole's hill during revolutionary times; and afterwards were sold, to be wrought into some more harmless form of human uses.

however been inferred from traditions which have come down, that it was so used not long after 1622, when the fort was constructed and served for public worship as well as defence. The following inscriptions are from the oldest stones now on the hill. Why grave-stones were not sooner placed there can now only be subject of conjecture. Perhaps a sufficient reason existed in the expense and difficulty of promptly procuring stones from England — and something should be allowed to the weighty cares and labors early required to hold possession of the country, demanding thoughts and energies which rendered other considerations of comparatively secondary consequence.

Here lies the body of Edward Gray, Gent, aged about 52 years, and departed this life the last of June, 1681. Mr Gray was a distinguished and successful merchant and a valuable man in his day and generation. He lived in Rockey-Nook, and died there; and the same field near the water, on which his house and store stood are still owned by his descendants.

Here lies buried the body of Mr. Wm. Crow, aged about 55 years, who decd January 1683-4.

Here lieth buried the body of that precious servant of God, Mr. Thomas Cushman, who, after he had served his generation according to the will of God, and particularly the church of Plymouth for many

years in the office of a ruling-elder, fell asleep in Jesus Dec. 10th, 1691, and in the 84th year of his age. Mr. Cushman was the son of Robert Cushman. He lived in the latter period of his life near Jones River; and the place where he dwelt and the spring near it is called Elder Spring to this day. It is a short distance south of the Kingston landing.

1695. Here lies buried ye body of Mr. Thomas Clark, aged 98 years. Departed this life March 24, 1697.

It has long been supposed that Mr. Thomas Clark was mate of the Mayflower; but tradition upon this point is not entirely satisfactory. The christian name of the Clark who was mate of this renowned vessel is not mentioned in history. Thomas Clark arrived in the Ann in 1623, at which time he was 23 years of age; and if he were mate of the Mayflower was 20 years old when she arrived in 1620. It is at least remarkable, that no mention of him as such appears in any record extant.

1645. Here lies buried the body of Mr. Thomas Faunce, ruling elder of the first church of Christ in Plymouth. Deceased Feb. 27, 1745, in the 99th year of his age.

The fathers — where are they?
Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.

This venerable cotemporary of the pilgrims was the last ruling elder of the first church, from whom

most of the traditions, respecting the first comers, were received — a source of information deserving of entire confidence.

*Here lies the body of Joseph Bartlett, who departed this life, April the 9th, 1703, in the 38th year of his age.

Thousands of years before blest Abel's fall,
'Twas said of him being dead he speaketh yet.
From silent grave methinks I hear a voice,
Pray fellow mortal do'nt your death forget;
You that your eyes cast on this grave,
Know you a dying time must have.

A white marble monument, with an appropriate inscription was placed on the site well known as the grave of Gov. Bradford, by several of his descendants. It stands on the easterly brow of the hill — and is 8 1-2 feet from the ground, and of pyramidal form.

Near this monument is the grave of Wm. Bradford, son of the Governor.

Here lies the body of ye honorable Major William Bradford, who expired Feb. ye 20th, 1703-4 — aged 79 years.

He lived long, but was still doing good,
And in his country's service lost much blood,
After a life well spent he 's now at rest,
His very name and memory is blest.

* It has generally been supposed, that the grave stone of Edward Gray, was the first placed on the hill — the late Dr. Nath'l Lothrop, however, received information from an aged relative, from which it appears that Mr. Bartlett's was first *placed* there, though his death was sometime subsequent to that of Mr. Gray.

Some years ago a grave stone was placed over the remains of John Howland, by his descendant in the 5th generation, the Hon. John Howland, of Providence, President of the Historical Society of Rhode Island, now in the 89th year of his age.

Here ended the Pilgrimage of JOHN HOWLAND — and ELIZABETH his wife. She was the daughter of Gov. Carver. They arrived in the Mayflower, Dec. 1620. They had four sons and six daughters, from whom have descended a numerous posterity.

1672, Feb. 23d. John Howland of Plymouth deceased. He lived to the age of 80 years. He was the last man of them that came over in the Mayflower who settled in Plymouth.

The following lines from the grave stone of the late Samuel Davis, Esq., may find an appropriate place in closing a chapter devoted to ancient inscriptions connected with the pilgrims.

> From life on earth our pensive friend retires,
> His dust commingling with the pilgrim sires ;
> In thoughtful walk their every path he traced,
> Peaceful and pure and innocent as they,
> With them to rise, to everlasting day.*

* On the occasion of an anniversary celebration, some years ago, the Rev. Dr. Peirce of Brooklyn and Mr. *Davis* were in conversation together, when several gentlemen entered the room, when the Doctor introduced his friend, by observing, ' Gentlemen, this is Mr. *Davis*, who can tell us where we all *came from*' — to which Mr. D. promptly replied, ' Gentlemen, this is Dr. *Peirce*, who can tell us where we are all *going to*.'

On a bright summer's day, at full tide, let some thoughtful observer come

> 'To the hill of hallowed brow,
> Where the pilgrim sleepeth now.'

Let him come when no cloud obscures the heavens, and the hushed air breathes no whisper, when the unruffled ocean holds mirrored on its tranquil bosom, the varied forms of surrounding objects, and the chastened feelings of the hour, court the sympathy of nature's repose, symbol of that deeper repose, brooding over the sleep of many generations. Facing the beautiful expanse of waters before him, the green ridge of Manomet is seen, rising nearly four hundred feet above the ocean, having the beach stretching its slender form from its notherly side three miles in extent, reposing quietly beneath its misty veil of blue, as if to gain fresh vigor, to encounter the furious congregation of billows, that often beat and foam against the huge rocks that encircle its base. Extending his vision across the bay, a distance of twenty-five miles, the white cliffs of Cape Cod appear as if suspended in mid-air by some secret enchantment of nature. Contracting his vision within a narrower compass, it rests on the white towers of the gurnet light house, reflected in the depths below, occupying the extreme point of Marshfield beach, seven miles from the main land; from whence the gleaming messenger of hope may sooner penetrate

the darkness of night, and guide the lost mariner to some haven of safety. Protected by Saquish head, stands Clark's Island, where the wrecked shallop of the Mayflower, shrouded in darkness, and just escaping destruction from the foaming breakers of the neighboring cove, at last found shelter, and the weather-beaten pilgrim, in his joyous hour of safety from peril, 'thanked God and took courage.' Beyond, lies the extended village of Duxbury, sparkling in sunlight, reaching to the Hill of Standish, full of interesting associations; and Kingston, with its neat dwellings, scattered along between pleasant groves, and teeming flood, terminating the survey of hills and plains and waters, which once formed the active scene of intense labor, perilous enterprise and enduring power, to men whose ashes now mingle with the ground on which the rapt observer stands.

CLARK'S ISLAND.

'And the heavy night hung dark,
The hills and waters o'er,
When a band of exiles moored their bark
On the wild New England shore.'

This Island received its name from Clark, the master's mate of the ship Mayflower. It is in some measure sheltered from the ocean by Saquish on the south and Marshfield beach on the east. It presents a beautiful feature in the scenery of Plymouth har-

bor distant three miles from town, but is chiefly interesting in connection with the pilgrims, who providentially found a shelter by its side, on the night of December 8th, 1620. Having taken their departure from Eastham and coasted along Barnstable Bay about 45 miles as mentioned page 55, on entering Plymouth harbor they narrowly escaped running the shallop into a cove full of breakers, which is formed between the gurnet light house and Saquish head, a distance of about two miles. On approaching the breakers a resolute seaman at the helm cried out to the oarsmen, 'if they were men, about with her, or they were all cast away;' which call was promptly executed, and favored by the flood-tide, they weathered Saquish head and secured a shelter. Here they kindled a fire and spent the night. In the morning they explored the island, without finding either dwellings or inhabitants. The weather being extremely cold, Saturday the 9th was spent in recruiting their strength, drying their arms, and repairing the shallop. The next day being Sunday, 'they rested' and kept the first New England Sabbath, notwithstanding the urgent necessity then existing, to hasten their explorations, for some place of permanent settlement.

On Monday, the 11th of December, they sounded the harbor, and landed on the Rock of Plymouth, which date corresponds with the 21st of December new style, according to the decision of our best astronomers, though the 22d has usually been the day of anniversary celebrations.

In the year 1637, 'The court granted, that Clark's Island, the Eel River beach, saquish and the gurnet's nose, shall be and remain unto the town of Plymouth.' The Island was originally well wooded, principally with red cedar, which in after times was frequently converted into gate posts for the supply of Boston market. Four or five weather beaten tenants of this spot still remain, and might in their days of youthful vigor, have formed part of the forest which poetry has delightfully personified in connection with the Fathers,

> 'When the leafless woods repeated
> The music of their psalm,
> 'When they shook the depths of the desert gloom
> With their song of lofty cheer.'

This Island contains 86 1-4 acres, according to a survey ordered by Sir Edmund Andros, Feb. 23d, 1687, executed by Philip Wells, and was pronounced by Gov. Hutchinson one of the best in Massachusetts. It was sold by the town, in 1690, to Samuel Lucas, Elkanah Watson, and George Morton. The late John Watson Esq. was the proprietor of the Island, where he resided about 40 years, and died Feb. 1, 1826, in the 78th year of his age. He was one of the founders of the Old Colony Club in 1769, and President of the Pilgrim Society after the year 1820, till his death. The place is now under good cultivation by his son, Mr. Edward Watson. On a very accurate map of Plymouth, drawn by James

Blascowith, Esq. a Naval Engineer, by order of the British Government in the year 1774, a large rock on the Island is named *Election Rock*, which according to information obtained from elderly persons now living, probably derived its name from the fact, that parties of pleasure in early times resorted there, to spend election holidays. This map probably contains the only record extant here of an ancient holiday, full of excitement to the community, in the former days of New England.

It ought perhaps to be stated here, that history has not preserved the christian names of either Jones or Clark, the master and mate of the Mayflower, or of Reynolds, master of the Speedwell.

BILLINGTON SEA.

This beautiful expanse of water, though it may not justly aspire to all the dignity which its name would seem to import, and which, soon after its discovery, received from the planters themselves, the more unassuming and appropriate appellation of Fresh Lake, still possesses strong attractions to the lovers of nature, in her more secluded, but not less interesting manifestations of beauty.

It was discovered by 'Francis Bilington,' in 1621, who 'having the week before, (on the eighth of January,) seen from the top of a tree, on a high hill, a great sea as he thought, went with the master's mate

to see it.' They found seven or eight wigwams, but no inhabitants. Whether these dwellings served for occasional accommodation to the Namasket Indians, when visiting the sea-shore for shell fish, or had been deserted in consequence of the destructive plague of 1616, must remain the subject of conjecture only. It is quite probable, however, that the Indian path from Namasket wound its way along this woodland region, and so continued on the south side of Town Brook. It is about one and a half miles long, and half a mile in width at its extreme points, and six miles in compass along its winding shores. It imbosoms an Island containing two acres of land, formerly covered with every variety of forest trees, and now mostly replaced by an orchard and dwelling house. Some thirty years ago it was the usual and favorite resort of social parties from town, since which it has in some measure experienced the rivalship peculiar to all human concerns; while South, Long, and Herring Ponds, having deeper water and greater abundance of fish, often divert the votaries of innocent amusement to their attractive shores.

During the last summer this ancient and agreeable resort, seems to have acquired new favor in public estimation, and among the throng of visitors to Plymouth, in quest of antiquity, and to seek relaxation from the cares of city life, many have found its shady groves a source of refreshment and delight.

The water power afforded by this spacious foun-

tain, from whence Town brook proceeds in its course of two miles to the harbor, is not liable to the many fluctuations incident to most of our streams. It has, from time immemorial, been of great importance to our citizens, and might with skillful improvements, increase the productive power of our manufactures to a very large extent.

In this comparatively sequestered region, the eagle still maintains his ancient dominion, majestically soaring above his native hills, the abode of many generations. Here the beautiful wood duck still roams with diminished chances of success, in quest of a secluded retreat — and the bounding deer, sportively ranging through forest and glade, finds refreshment on the margin of its pure waters; or, when heated in the chase from some perilous onset of the reckless hunter, with hurried flight venturously braves the welcome flood, his only chance of security from unrelenting pursuit.

NOTE. It seems almost certain that an error exists in the original edition of Mourt's relation, printed in 1622, where the name of Francis Billington occurs, which probably should have been written John Billington. Dr. Young, in his chronicles, has copied this work, and on page 149 may be found what is presumed to have been an error in the original. The note of Dr. Young on the same page, referring to Francis Billington, would not therefore be applicable to Francis, but would be appropriate when applied to John, senior. John Billington, senior, signed the compact on board the Mayflower, and his family, as appears from that instrument, consisted of four persons, including probably himself, his wife Helen, and two sons, Francis and John. History and the records are both silent respecting the boy John after his recovery, who had strolled away from the plantation and caused so

THE OLD COLONY CLUB.

As our public anniversary celebrations originated with this association, some account of its origin will doubtless be interesting to the reader. It was formed in 1769, as will be seen from the following extracts copied from the records which are now in existence.

January 16th, 1769.—'We whose names are underwritten, having maturely weighed and seriously considered the many disadvantages and inconveniences that arise from intermixing with the company at the taverns in this town, and apprehending that a well regulated club will have a tendency to prevent the same, and to increase, not only the pleasure and happiness of the respective members, but, also, will conduce to their edification and instruction, do hereby incorporate ourselves into a society, by the name of the *Old Colony Club*. For the better regulation of

much trouble to the pilgrims. In the division of lands in 1623, John Billington had three acres of land assigned him; and in the division of cattle in 1627 the names of John, Helen, and Francis only are mentioned.

Francis Billington, it may be inferred from all we can gather respecting him, did not partake of his father's characteristics. John, his father, was hung in 1630, for waylaying and shooting John Newcomen, who, according to tradition, intruded on his hunting grounds, and, not heeding the warning given him to desist, became the victim of one who had before proved himself a pestilent fellow — and eventually verified the declaration of Gov. Bradford to Robert Cushman, that 'he was a knave and would so live and die.'

which we do consent and agree to observe all such rules and laws, as shall from time to time be made by the club. Dated at our Hall, in Plymouth, the day and year above written.

Isaac Lothrop, John Thomas,
Pelham Winslow, Edward Winslow, Jr.,
Thomas Lothrop, John Watson,
Elkanah Cushman.

December 18th.— At a meeting of the club, voted, that Friday next be kept by this club in commemoration of the landing of our worthy ancestors in this place; that the club dine together at Mr. Howland's, and that a number of gentlemen be invited to spend the evening with us at the Old Colony Hall.

Old Colony Day. First Celebration of the Landing of our Forefathers — Friday, December 22. The Old Colony Club, agreeably to a vote passed the 18th instant, met, in commemoration of the landing of their worthy ancestors in this place. On the morning of the said day, after discharging a cannon, was hoisted upon the hall an elegant silk flag, with the following inscription, '*Old Colony*,' 1620. At eleven o'clock, A. M. the members of the club appeared at the hall, and from thence proceeded to the house of Mr. Howland, inn-holder, which is erected upon the spot where the first licensed house in the Old Colony formerly stood; at half after two a decent repast was served, which consisted of the following dishes, viz.

1, a large baked Indian whortleberry pudding; 2, a dish of sauquetach, (succatach, corn and beans boiled together;) 3, a dish of clams; 4, a dish of oysters and a dish of cod fish; 5, a haunch of vension, roasted by the first Jack brought to the colony; 6, a dish of sea fowl; 7, a dish of frost fish and eels; 8 an apple pie; 9, a course of cranberry tarts, and cheese made in the Old Colony.

These articles were dressed in the plainest manner (all appearance of luxury and extravagance being avoided, in imitation of our ancestors, whose memory we shall ever respect.) At 4 o'clock, P. M. the members of our club, headed by the steward, carrying a folio volume of the laws of the Old Colony, hand in hand marched in procession to the hall. Upon the appearance of the procession in front of the hall, a number of descendants from the first settlers in the Old Colony, drew up in a regular file, and discharged a volley of small arms, succeeded by three cheers, which were returned by the club, and the gentlemen generously treated. After this, appeared at the private grammar school opposite the hall, a number of young gentlemen, pupils of Mr. Wadsworth, who, to express their joy upon this occasion, and their respect for the memory of their ancestors, in the most agreeable manner joined in singing a song very applicable to the day. At sunsetting a cannon was discharged, and the flag struck. In the evening the hall was illuminated, and the following gentlemen, being previously invited, joined the club, viz.

Col. George Watson,	Capt. Thomas Davis,
Col. James Warren,	Dr. Nathaniel Lothrop,
James Hovey, Esq.,	Mr. John Russell,
Thomas Mayhew, Esq.,	Mr. Edward Clarke,
William Watson, Esq.,	Mr. Alexander Scammell,
Capt. Gideon White,	Mr. Peleg Wadsworth,
Capt. Elkanah Watson,	Mr. Thomas Southworth Howland.

The president being seated in a large and venerable chair,* which was formerly possessed by William Bradford, the second worthy governor of the Old Colony, and presented to the club, by our friend Dr. Lazarus Le Baron, of this town, delivered several appropriate toasts.† After spending the evening

* This ancient chair is now in the family of Nathaniel Russell, Esq.

† 1. To the memory of our brave and pious ancestors, the first settlers of the Old Colony.

2. To the memory of John Carver and all the other worthy Governors of the Old Colony.

3. To the memory of that pious man and faithful historian, Mr. Secretary Morton.

4. To the memory of that brave man and good officer, Capt. Miles Standish.

5. To the memory of Massasoit, our first and best friend, and ally of the Natives.

6. To the memory of Mr. Robert Cushman, who preached the first sermon in New England.

7. The union of the Old Colony and Massachusetts.

8. May every person be possessed of the same noble sentiments against arbitrary power that our worthy ancestors were endowed with.

9. May every enemy to civil or religious liberty meet the same or a worse fate than Arch Bishop Laud.

in an agreeable manner, in recapitulating and conversing upon the many and various advantages of our forefathers in the first settlement of this country, and the growth and increase of the same, — at eleven o'clock in the evening a cannon was again fired, three cheers given, and the club and company withdrew.'

In 1770. The anniversary of the landing was celebrated much in the same manner as in the preceding year, with the addition of an address by Edward Winslow, Jun. Esq., the first ever delivered on any similar occasion.

'In order to remind us of the debt of gratitude we owe to our God, and to our ancestors, the following words were spoken, with modest and decent firmness, by a member of the club, (Edward Winslow, Jr., Esq.)

'When I recollect, that about one century and a half since, a few worthies on the Island of Great Britain, persecuted and tormented by the wicked aspiring *great*, for thinking freely, and for acting with the same dignity and freedom with which they thought, although their sentiments and conduct were conformed to the laws of the society in which they lived, contrary to the common cause of suffering humanity, which frequently sinks in proportion to the

10. May the Colonies be speedily delivered from all the burthens and oppressions they now labor under.

11. A speedy and lasting union between Great Britain and her Colonies.

12. Unanimity, prosperity, and happiness to the Colonies.

power exerted against it, did dare, in defiance of their persecutors, to form themselves into one body for the common safety and protection of all, an engagement, which though founded on the true and genuine principles of religion and virtue, unhappy experience taught them was too weak and insecure a barrier against the arts and stratagems of such potent adversaries. When we recollect that, under these melancholy circumstances, having no other resort to preserve the purity of their minds, they abandoned their native country, their friends, their fortunes, and connections, and transported themselves to the city of Leyden, with the most sanguine hopes of a protection which the Island had refused to afford them. When we recollect that persecution, from another quarter, rendered their situation in the states of Holland equally as perplexed and disagreeable, — how am I astonished that such repeated disappointments had not rendered them too weak ever to make another attempt. But when we view them rising from their misfortunes with tenfold vigor, and upon the same virtuous principles, crossing the Atlantic with the dearest companions of life, their wives, their helpless offspring, exposed to the roughness of the ocean, to the inclemencies of the weather, and all their attendant evils, and landing in the tempestuous month of December upon an unknown shore, inhabited by men more fierce than beasts of prey, and scarcely deserving to be called human, natural enemies to their virtue and morality, with whom they

are obliged to wage an immediate and unequal war for their defence and safety. When we view them, under all the disadvantages naturally attendant upon a state of sickness and poverty, defending themselves against savage cruelties, and still persevering in their virtuous resolutions, establishing their religion in this then desert, forming a code of laws wisely adapted to their circumstances, and planting a colony, which, through divine goodness, has flourished and become an important branch of that body which caused their emigration, — how am I lost in amazement! And to what cause can we ascribe these deliverances and salvation, but to that Almighty being who orders all events for the benefit of mankind, whose ways are to us unsearchable, whose doings are past our finding out.

'Upon a recollection of all these things, it is not to be wondered, that we the sons and descendants from such illustrious ancestors, upon this 22d of December, are assembled upon the very spot on which they landed, to commemorate this period, the most important that the annals of America can boast, a period which, I doubt not every person here present esteems an honor, as well as his incumbent duty, gratefully to remember; and while we feel for the misfortunes and calamities of those, our pious ancestors, the consequences of which to us are so delightful and glorious, let us also admire and adore their virtue, their patience, their fortitude, and their heroism, and continue to commemorate it annually. This virtue is undoubt-

edly rewarded with joys which no tongue can utter, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive; and if we, their sons, act from the same principles, and conduct with the same noble firmness and resolution, when our holy religion or our civil liberties are invaded, we may expect a reward proportionate; for such principles render the soul tranquil and easy under all the misfortunes and calamities to which human nature is exposed, and of him who is possessed by them, the poet with propriety says,

> 'Should the whole frame of nature round him break,
> In ruin and confusion hurled,
> He, unconcerned, would hear the mighty crack,
> And stand secure amidst a falling world.'

The Rev. Dr. Chandler Robbins, pastor of the first church, took a lively interest in the public celebrations instituted by this club, and was their frequent guest. In a letter addressed to the Club, dated Dec. 23, 1771, he suggested, 'whether it would not be agreeable for the entertainment and instruction of the rising generation, on these anniversaries to have a sermon in public, some part of the day peculiarly adapted to the occasion.' This recommendation has been generally observed from that day to the present time.

In the year 1773 the association was dissolved, in consequence of conflicting opinions existing among its members in relation to the American Revolution. Its meetings were at first held in the front room of

the house of Mr. Jonathan Diman, which stood upon the lot where the Mansion House now stands, at the corner of North and Maine streets, and afterwards in the Old Colony Hall.

Their public dinners were provided at the public house of Mr. Howland, which stood on the spot now occupied by the dwelling house of Josiah Robbins, Esq. Among the invited guests at various times present at their meetings, were the following distinguished individuals: John Adams, Robert T. Paine, Daniel Leonard, Col. Thomas Oliver, Richard Leachmur, Nathan Cushing, Peleg Wadsworth, William Sever, Benjamin Kent, Gen. John Winslow and Dr. Charles Stockbridge.

Feb. 8, 1770. 'This evening was read at the Hall, the provoked husband, a comedy, by Mr. M. A. Warwell, to a company of about forty gentlemen and ladies, by invitation of the Club.'

The officers of the Club were the late Isaac Lothrop, Esq., President; Thomas Lothrop, Esq., Secretary, and Elkanah Cushman, Steward.

WATSON'S HILL.

This hill rises to an elevated height on the south side of Town Brook, and was called Strawberry Hill by the first planters. It was early owned by George Watson, an ancient and valuable settler. Its Indian name was Cantaugantust; the signification of which,

has not been ascertained, though diligent inquiry has been made for that purpose. Since the days of Eliot, Mayo, Cotton, and Treat, the language and the race of Indians seem to have shared one common fate. It might become an interesting subject of speculation to consider what effect would be produced on the minds of those devoted missionaries, were they permitted to visit the earth and witness the desolation which has spared hardly a solitary descendant of the numerous converts they once gathered into the fold of christian hope.

On the summit of this hill, Massasoit appeared with his train of sixty men, where hostages were exchanged between him and the Pilgrims, as a preliminary step to the treaty of peace which immediately followed.

This place was probably a favorite resort of the natives prior to the landing. Excavations have been made at various times, and Indian remains have been found there within a few years. On the west side shells are found in large quantities, evidently the remnant of many a simple *Indian feast*, for which the situation possessed every advantage, having the best springs close at hand, of which none were better judges than the natives, till their taste became perverted by the immoderate use of the *strong water*, supplied them by the reckless white men, who have so often unscrupulously employed the article, both to their own destruction and the oppression of that injured race.

FRIENDLY INDIANS.

It is no more than a simple act of justice, to bring into view the names of Massasoit, Samoset, Squanto or Tisquantum, Hobomock, Tockamahamon, Aspinot, and Jyanough, whose names so often appear, in honorable connection with the pilgrims, for several years after their landing. They deserve grateful remembrance for their early friendship, valuable services, and unshaken fidelity during the most trying period of our early history.

Massasoit was probably about forty years of age, at the time of his first interview with the fathers, as may be inferred from the description preserved of his person and other circumstances connected with his history and death, which latter event occurred, according to the best authorities, about the year 1662.

When Edward Winslow was on his way to relieve the dangerous sickness of Massasoit, with Hobomock for his guide, and a false rumor prevailed of his death, Hobomock believing it true, 'manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches, 'my loving sachem, my loving, loving sachem! Many have I known, but never any like thee.' And turning him to me said, whilst I lived, I should never see his like amongst the Indians; saying he was no liar, he was not bloody and cruel like other Indians; continuing a long speech with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow, as it would have made the hardest heart to relent.'

This spontaneous expression of regard for Massasoit is of far more value and weight, in proof of his excellent character, than volumes of labored panegyric.

Nothing is said respecting Samoset after the appearance of Massasoit in March, 1621. He probably soon returned to the eastward, near Penobscot, of which he was a native, and no opportunity perhaps afterwards presented, to renew the 'welcome,' with which he first greeted the pilgrims.

History relates that Hobomock adopted the Christian faith, and was not only a faithful *pinese* or chief counsellor of Massasoit, but ever true to his English friends. It is supposed he died about the year 1642.

Aspinet was sachem of Nauset (Eastham) and though his tribe attacked the pilgrims, their hostility was doubtless occasioned by the perfidy of Hunt, the captain of an English vessel, who had some years before carried several of their friends away, and sold them as slaves.

The hospitality and personal appearance of Jyanough, the 'courteous sachem' of Cummaquid (Barnstable) is mentioned in history, with commendations, which indicate his superiority in these respects to any other native with whom the pilgrims held intercourse. The strong hold acquired by our fathers over the affections of these savages of the wilderness, is certainly remarkable, and affords the best evidence of their upright intentions, their sense of justice, and earnest desire to inhabit the land without dispossessing the Indian race.

PILGRIM HALL.

The Pilgrim Hall which is now fitted up in a manner convenient and appropriate, for the reception of interesting memorials connected with the Pilgrims, contains the following, among other attractions to the antiquarian visitor:

The Landing of the Fathers in 1620, painted by the late Henry Sargent, Esq., of Boston, and generously presented by him to the Pilgrim Society. It was valued at $3000. The gilt frame was purchased by the Pilgrim Society, with funds raised by subscription, and cost about $400. It is 13 by 16 feet.

The following individuals are represented in the painting attired in the costume of their time.

1st. Governor Carver and his wife and children. 2d. Governor Bradford. 3d. Governor Winslow. 4th. Wife of Governor Winslow. 5th. Mr. William Brewster, the Elder of Leyden Church. 6th. Captain Miles Standish. 7th. Mr. William White, and his child Peregrine. 8th. Mr. Isaac Allerton and his wife. 9th. Mr. John Alden. 10th. Mr. John Turner. 11th. Mr. Stephen Hopkins, his wife and children. 12th. Mr. Richard Warren. 13th. Mr. Edward Telley. 14th. Mr. Samuel Fuller. 15th. Wife of Captain Standish. 16th. Samoset, an Indian Sagamore or Lord. 17th. Mr. John Howland, son in law of Governor Carver.

Portraits. 1st. Edward Winslow, painted in London in 1651, copied from the original, by C. A.

Foster. 2d. Josiah Winslow, the first native Governor of the Old Colony, painted in London in 1651; copied from the original, by C. A. Foster. 3d. Gov. Josiah Winslow's wife, Penelope Pelham; copied from the original, by C. A. Foster. 4th. General John Winslow; copied from the original, by C. A. Foster. The portrait of Gov. Edward Winslow is the only one preserved, of those who came in the Mayflower. The originals of these paintings belong to Isaac Winslow, Esq., of Boston, and are now in the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society. 5th. A portrait of the Hon. Ephraim Spooner, presented by Thomas Davis, Esq., of Boston. 6th. A portrait of John Alden, Esq, of Middleborough, who died in 1821, aged 102 years. He was the great grandson of John Alden, who came in the Mayflower. Painted and presented by Cephas Thompson, Esq. 7th. A portrait of Hon. John Trumbull, presented by Col. John Trumbull. This portrait was painted in 1781. The face was executed by Mr. Stewart, and the other parts by Mr. Trumbull himself, while a student with him. 8th. A portrait of James Thacher, M. D., late Librarian and Cabinet keeper of the Pilgrim Society. It was painted by Mr. Frothingham, in January, 1841, by order of the Pilgrim Society, pursuant to a vote expressing their sense of the valuable services he had rendered, in promoting the objects of said society. *

* Dr. Thatcher was appointed Librarian and Cabinet Keeper of the Pilgrim Society at its first organization, and his indefatigable efforts

The bust of Hon. Daniel Webster, presented by James T. Hayward, Esq., of Boston. The bust of Hon. John Adams, presented by Samuel Nicholson, Esq.

The addition of Weir's painting copied from the original at Washington, representing the memorable scene of the embarkation of the Pilgrims at Delfthaven, would afford a valuable addition to the attractions of Pilgrim Hall, which it is hoped will be made, when the requisite means can be obtained, for accomplishing so desirable an object.

Among the antiquities in the Cabinet of the Pilgrim Society are the following:

A chair which belonged to Gov. Carver. The sword of Miles Standish, presented by William S. Williams, Esq. A pewter dish which belonged to Miles Standish, presented by the late Joseph Head, Esq. An iron pot which belonged to Miles Standish, presented by the late John Watson, Esq. A brass steelyard, owned by Thomas Southworth. A cane which belonged to William White, presented by Hon. John Reed. A dressing case which belonged to

contributed largely to the promotion of its objects. The following extract from the report of a Committee of the Society indicates the sense entertained of his services: 'The undersigned, to whom was referred the report of Dr. James Thatcher, respecting the Iron Railing around the Forefather's Rock, report that the Society are indebted to Dr. Thatcher for this beautiful and costly monument, which while it secures the Pilgrim Rock from further depredation, records for the benefit of posterity, the names of our fathers, and affords a pleasing subject of contemplation to many strangers who visit us.' — Dr. Thatcher died May 23, 1844, aged 90.

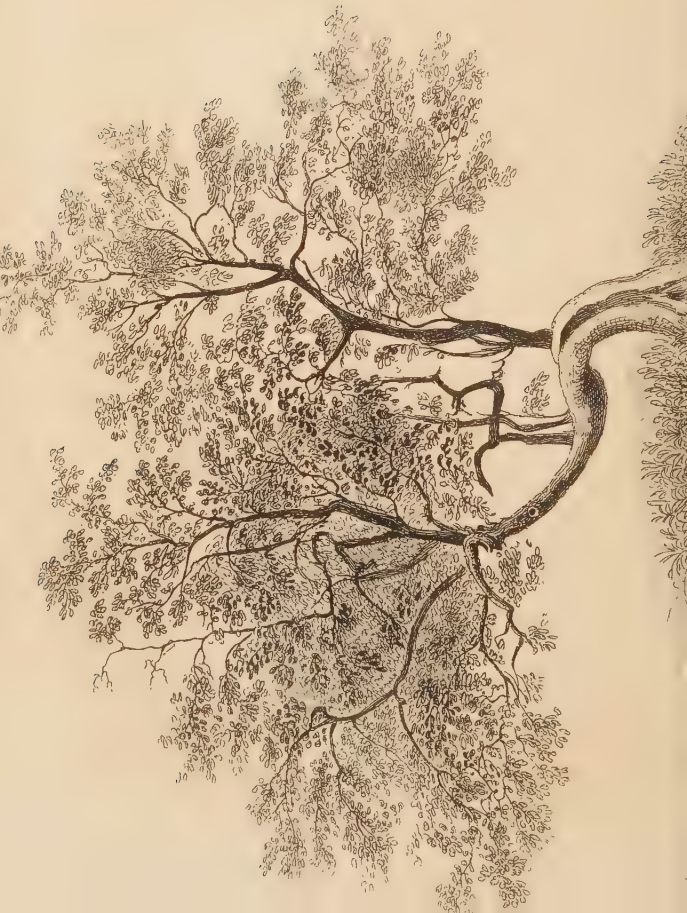
Wm. White. The gun-barrel with which King Philip was killed, presented by Mr. John Cook of Kingston. The original letter of king Philip to Gov. Prince, written in 1662. A china mug and leather pocket-book which belonged to Thomas Clark. A piece of ingenious embroidery, in a frame, executed by Lorea Standish, a daughter of Miles Standish, presented by Rev. Lucius Alden of East Bridgewater. Many curiosities are still in the hands of individuals and families, which might add much to the interest of Pilgrim Hall.

There is also a library consisting of miscellaneous works presented by various individuals since the formation of the Pilgrim Society in 1820. The Iron Railing in front of Pilgrim Hall, enclosing a part of Forefathers' Rock, was designed by the late George Brimmer Esq., of Boston. The names inscribed upon it — 41 in number — are those who signed the Compact on board the Mayflower, in Cape Cod harbor, Nov. 11, 1620. This railing cost $410, and the funds were obtained by subscription.

The records of the late Librarian and Cabinet Keeper abound with evidences of great efforts on the part of the Plymouth ladies, at various times, in procuring means to aid the Society in promoting its objects. Besides the subscriptions obtained in Plymouth, Boston and other places, by means of which the Hall was originally built, donations have been received from the heirs of the late Samuel Davis Esq. of the lot on which the Hall stands; from the

late Dr. Nathaniel Lothrop the sum of $500, and the late Miss Rebecca Frazier, of Duxbury, $500, which last bequest was specially to be applied for the purpose of procuring appropriate paintings.

Pilgrim Hall. The corner stone, containing historical inscriptions, was laid Sept. 1, 1824, with religious ceremonies. This monumental edifice is situated on Court street, it is seventy by forty feet, constructed of unwrought split granite in a plain and substantial mode of architecture, contains a dining room on the basement, and a spacious hall above. The ground on which it stands was a part of the extensive estate of Mr. Thomas Southworth in 1668, and is probably comprised within the 'four acres given him by his mother, Mrs. Alice Bradford,' the relict of Gov. Bradford. When Plymouth was first planted, there was a north and a south common field for tillage for several years, on either side the town near the shore. This falls within the 'north field,' and probably within the stockade and palisadoes of nearly half a mile in compass. Just below it, abutting on 'the shore were the six acre brick kiln field' of the first planters. The eastern prospect from it is interesting, bringing into view the harbor, the near shores of Duxbury and Marshfield, the highlands of Manomet, the ocean, and occasionally in the summer, the looming cliffs of Cape Cod — the first resting place of the pilgrims.



CHAPTER XI.

Genealogy of the Pilgrims — Table of Longevity — Closing Remarks on the Pilgrims.

THE following genealogical tables are all that the remaining pages of this work will admit; which have been carefully revised by a valuable antiquarian friend, Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, M. D., whose aid in this part of the work is gratefully acknowledged.

JOHN CARVER was the first Governor of Plymouth and stands at the head of those who signed the Compact on board the Mayflower in 1620. He had previously been an active and efficient agent of the Leyden church, in the various and difficult negotiations which preceded the embarkation of the Pilgrims for America. He was suddenly seized, while laboring in the field, with a violent pain in the head, by some supposed to have been caused by what is called a stroke of the sun, and died April 5th, 1621. His wife died about six weeks after. His family on their arrival in 1620 consisted of eight persons, including John Howland and his wife Elizabeth and perhaps one or more children, and Jasper, the boy of Gov. Carver, who died Dec. 6, 1620. The name of Carver does not appear in the division of land in 1623, or the division of cattle in 1627. It is still difficult to make out the number of eight in Gov. Carver's family, without presuming (as is suggested by Dr. Shurtleff) that Henry Samson and Humility Cooper, who came in the Mayflower and have no places assigned to them, were of that number. Judge Mitchell says, in his History of Bridgewater, 'A family however, of this name, was in Marshfield ever after 1638; at which date Robert Carver had a grant of land at Green's harbor,

and died there 1680, aged 86. John Carver (son of Robert, perhaps) d. in Marshfield 1679, æ. 42, leaving a widow Milicent, who was daughter of William Ford, and eight children. William Carver, eldest son of John, died at Marshfield 1760, æ. 102, and is noticed by Gov. Hutchinson and Dr. Belknap, in the Biography of Gov. Carver, as the grandson of the Governor; but in Pemberton's Ms. Journal, in the library of the Mass. Historical Society, he is called the nephew of Gov. Carver.' Joshua Carver, late of Marshfield, aged over 90, was of the same family. John Carver (son of John probably) lived in Plymouth, went from Marshfield 1680, m. Mary, daughter of Jonathan Barnes; and his son deacon Josiah, d. in Plymouth 1751, æ. 63. Many of the name still live in the town and county of Plymouth.'

ROBERT CUSHMAN. Mr. Cushman was a member of the Leyden Church, and was twice appointed as their agent to negotiate with the Virginia company, 'and see if the King would give them liberty of conscience there,' under the royal seal;—and a third time was sent to England from Leyden, to receive money of the merchant adventurers of London, previous to the embarkation from Holland, and to provide for the voyage to New England; which he did by procuring the Mayflower and Mr. Clark, the pilot. Perhaps no individual of the Church possessed in a higher degree the qualifications required for discharging the important duties incident to the trust assigned him. He embarked in the Mayflower, from Southampton, in company with the Speedwell, which last vessel, after proceeding some leagues to sea, received so much injury, that both ships were compelled to return. Mr. Cushman remained in England to keep together those that were left behind, owing to the accident to the smaller vessel; and afterwards in 1621 came over in the Fortune.

He brought with him his only son, Thomas, then 14 years of age. He returned to England on business of the Colony, in the Fortune, Dec. 10, 1621, and never afterwards visited the country. He was actively engaged in promoting the interests of the colony, particularly in relation to the discontent which was soon manifested among the merchant adventurers. His correspondence with Gov. Bradford

indicates his ability, and his efforts contributed largely to the arrangements which eventually dissolved the perplexing connection between them and the pilgrims. While in Plymouth he delivered a sermon on the duties of self-denial — the first ever printed of those delivered in New England. He died in the year 1626, an event deeply lamented at the time, — an irreparable loss to the colony: which event is thus mentioned by Gov. Bradford: 'Our captain also brings us notice of the death of our ancient friend, Mr. Cushman, who was our right hand with the adventurers, and for divers years has managed all our business with them to our great advantage.'

His son Thomas was educated by Gov. Bradford, and was chosen Elder of the Church, on the death of Elder Brewster, and was ordained to that office April 6, 1649. He married Mary Allerton, daughter of Isaac Allerton, and died Dec. 11th, 1691, aged 84.

His children, as shown by his will and otherwise, were Thomas, Isaac, Elkanah, Fear, Eleazer, Sarah Hook, and Mary Harlow. Isaac was settled in the ministry at Plympton, October 27th, 1698.

WILLIAM BRADFORD, (Gov.) b. 1588 at *Austerfield in England, came to N. England, with his wife Dorothy, in the Mayflower. She was the daughter of Mr. May, and was drowned at Cape Cod Harbor, Dec. 7, 1620. He married August 14, 1623, his 2d wife, Mrs. Alice Southworth, a woman of great worth, the widow of Constant Southworth, of England, and daughter of Mr. Carpenter. She died March 26, 1670, aged about 80. He died May 9th, 1657, in his 69th year.

By his 1st wife he had John, born in England, who married Martha Bourne, daughter of Thomas and Anne, of Marshfield, and died without issue at Norwich, Conn., in 1678. Martha, the widow, married Lt. Thomas Tracy, and died in 1689.

By his 2d wife he had William, the major, b. June 17, 1624; Mercy, who m. Benjamin Vermayes Dec. 21, 1648; and Joseph, b. 1630.

William Bradford, Jr., (major and deputy Governor,) was son of the governor, and m. 1st Alice Richards, of Weymouth, and had

* In previous histories this name has been spelt *Ansterfield*.

John, b. Feb. 20, 1652-3, d. 1736, m. Mercy Warren, (daugh. of Joseph and Priscilla,) in 1674; she b. Sept. 23, 1653, and d. 1748.

William, b. March 11, 1654-5, d. 1687, m. Rebecca Bartlett, (daugh. of Benj.) in 1679.

Thomas, lived at Norwich.

Samuel, b. 1668, d. 1714, m. Hannah Rogers.

Alice, m. Major James Fitch of Norwich.

Hannah, m. Joshua Ripley of Hingham, Nov. 28, 1682. They had two children, and then removed to Connecticut.

Mercy, m. Steel of Hartford.

Melatiah, m. John Steel of Norwich.

Mary,

Sarah,

Alice, his 1st wife, died Dec. 12, 1671, aged about 44, and he married for his 2d wife Mrs. Mary Holmes, widow of Rev. John, of Duxbury, and daughter of John Wood alias Attwood of Plymouth. By her he had

Israel, m. Sarah Bartlett, (daughter of Benj. Jr.)

David, d. 1730, m. Elizabeth Finney in 1714.

Ephraim, } lived in Kingston.
Hezekiah, }

Mary, his 2d wife, died; and he m. for 3d wife Mrs. Wiswell, a widow, and had a son, Joseph.

The Deputy Governor died Feb. 20, 1703-4, aged 79.

Joseph Bradford, (son of the Gov.) b. 1630, m. Jael Hobart, daugh. of Rev. Peter of Hingham, May 25, 1664, and had Joseph and Elisha.

He died in 1715, aged 84; and his wife in 1730, aged 88.

GOV. EDWARD WINSLOW was the son of Edward Winslow, of Droitwich and Kempsey, in the County of Worcester, England, by Magdalen his second wife, and was born in 1595. He joined the Pilgrims at Leyden a few years previous to their embarkation for America, and perhaps no individual of the number

contributed more largely to the establishment and success of the Old Colony.

He visited England in the year 1624, and on his return brought the first cattle into New England, which were committed to him and Mr. Allerton to sell for the company. He possessed great influence at the court of Cromwell, and at various periods was instrumental in defending both the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts against the misrepresentations of their enemies. He removed to Marshfield early, not far from 1637, and built a house which stood in a northeasterly direction, not far from the present Winslow House. The Winslow house still standing is probably about 150 years old, and is said to have been built by Hon. Isaac Winslow. Gov. Winslow's place of residence was called Careswell, named from a family seat of his ancestors in England. Gov. Winslow was highly esteemed at the court of Cromwell, and was appointed by him one of three Commissioners of arbitration, between the English nation and the United Provinces.

His first wife to whom he was married a short time before the embarkation at Delfthaven, was named Elizabeth. She died March 24th, 1621. His second wife was Susanna, the widow of William White, to whom he was married May 12, 1621, which was the first marriage in New England. His children were 1st, Edward; 2d, John; both of whom died young; 3d, Josiah, born in 1628; 4th, Elizabeth. His son, Gov. Josiah Winslow, m. Penelope Pelham, a daughter of Herbert Pelham, in 1657. Elizabeth m. 1st, John Brooke,* and 2dly, George Curwin. The children of Gov. Josiah Winslow who survived him were Elizabeth, b. in 1664, and Isaac, b. in 1670. He died 1680, aged 52, and his wife in 1703. Elizabeth m. Sarah Burton, and Isaac† m. Sarah, daughter of John Wensley, in 1700, and died in 1738, aged 68, and his wife in 1753, aged 80.

* Corrected from Gilbert Brookes, on authority of Mr. Shattuck.

† The following remarks respecting him, were copied from an Almanac which belonged to the Rev. Daniel Lewis of Pembroke. '1738, Dec. 7th. In the Evening dyed at his seat in Marshfield the Hon. Col. Isaac Winslow, Esq. in the year of his age. He was every way a gentleman; easie of access, facetious, generous, of good natural powers, universally beloved. As to stature, he was tall and pretty gross, of a noble aspect.'

Their son, Gen. John Winslow, born in 1703, m. Mary Little in 1726, and had Pelham, b. in 1737, and Isaac, b. 1739. He died in 1774, aged 71. His son, Pelham, graduated at Harvard College in 1753. He married Joanna, daughter of Gideon White. He died at Long Island, New York, aged 45, leaving two daughters, Mary, who married the late Henry Warren, Esq. and Joanna, who m. Dr. Nathan Hayward, late sheriff of Plymouth County.

Dr. Isaac, the second son of Gen. John Winslow, married a daughter of Dr. Charles Stockbridge of Scituate, and d. in 1819, aged 80 years. He had a son John, b. in 1774, who died at Natchez in 1822, aged 48. The only surviving son of John is Isaac Winslow of Boston. He is the only male descendant of Gov. Edward Winslow, who bears the family name in New England.

JOHN WINSLOW was the brother of Edward, and came in the Fortune Nov. 1621. He was b. in England in 1597, and d. 1674. He lived in Plymouth till about the year 1657 at Plain Dealing, about two miles from town, when he removed to Boston. He was frequently employed in the early transactions of the town, as appears from the records. While an inhabitant of Boston he lived and died in Spring Lane. His house stood at the corner of Devonshire Street, on the same land now occupied by Minot's Building. He married Mary Chilton before 1627, daughter of James Chilton, who came in the Mayflower and died the first winter. She died at Boston in 1679. His children were 1st, John, who married Elizabeth, and then Judith, and died in 1683. 2d, Susanna, who m. Robert Latham of Bridgewater, about 1649, and died before 1683. 3d, Mary, b. 1630, d. 1663, m. Edward Gray of Plymouth Jan. 16, 1650–1. 4th, Sarah, who m. Miles Standish, son of Captain Standish, 1660, Tobias Paine in 1665, and afterwards Richard Middlecott, and d. 1726. 5th, Edward, b. 1634, d. 1682, m. 1st, Sarah Hilton of Plymouth, 2d, Elizabeth Hutchinson of Boston, granddaughter of the celebrated Ann Hutchinson. 6th, Joseph, d. 1679, m. Sarah. 7th, Samuel, b. 1641, d. 1680, m. Hannah, daughter of Walter Briggs. 8th, Isaac, born 1644, d. 1670, m. Mary Nowell, 1666. 9th, Benjamin; b. 1653, d. between 1673 and 1676, and probably never married.

KENELM WINSLOW, (brother of Gov. Edw.) He m. Eleanor, widow of John Adams, in 1634. His children were Kenelm, Nathaniel, Job, and Eleanor. He was b. in 1599, and d. 1672.

JOSIAS WINSLOW, (brother of Gov. Edw.) was b. in 1605, d. in 1674. He m. Margaret, daughter of Thomas Bourne, and had Elizabeth, Jonathan, Mary, Rebecca, Hannah, and Margaret.

GILBERT WINSLOW, another brother, came in the Mayflower, was born 1600, and died out of the Colony, probably never having been married.

ELDER WM. BREWSTER came in the Mayflower with his wife, his sons Love and Wrestling, daughter in law Lucretia, (wife of Jonathan,) and grandson William, (son of Jonathan.) He was born in 1559 or 1560, and died April 16, 1644, and had three sons, 1st, Jonathan, 2d, Love, 3d, Wrestling, and two daughters, Fear and Patience.

Wrestling died before his father, and without evidence of having been married.

Jonathan had a wife Lucretia, and four children, William, Mary, Jonathan, and Benjamin: the eldest born in England. He moved from Duxbury to Norwich, Conn. after 1648 with his wife and sons. William the eldest was in the Indian wars in 1645. His daughter Mary married John Turner of Scituate, Nov. 12, 1645. His son Jonathan was born about 1627. Benjamin married Anna Dart in 1659 at New London, and had Anna, b. Sept. 1662, Jonathan, 1664, Daniel, 1667, William, 1669, and Benjamin, 1673.

Love, son of the elder, m. Sarah Collier (daughter of William) May 15, 1634, and d. in 1650. He had Sarah, who m. Benjamin Bartlett in 1656; Nathaniel, who d. 1676; William, who m. Lydia Partridge and d. Nov. 3, 1723 (she d. Feb. 2, 1742): Wrestling, who m. Mary, had a family, and d. in 1696.

Fear m. Isaac Allerton in 1626, and d. 1633.

Patience m. Gov. Prence, Aug. 5th, 1624, and d. 1634.

The Brewster family left Plymouth early, and went to Duxbury and afterwards part went to Connecticut.

ISAAC ALLERTON came over in the Mayflower, 1620, with his wife, Mary, and four children, Bartholomew, Remember, Mary, and Sarah. Mary married Elder Thomas Cushman and died at Plymouth in 1699, above 90 years of age. Her husband died Dec. 11, 1691, in his 84th year. Sarah married Mr. Moses Maverick of Marblehead and died before 1656, at Marblehead, and her husband died Jan. 28, 1686, aged 76. Mr. Allerton's 1st wife, Mary, died Feb. 25, 1620-1, and he married in 1626 his 2d wife, Fear Brewster, daughter of Elder William Brewster, by whom he had one son, Isaac, who graduated at Harvard College in 1650. Fear Allerton died in 1633, and Mr. Allerton married a third wife, named Joanna, who was living in 1684, but by whom he had no children. He died at New Haven in 1659, and must have been over 70 years of age. Mr. Allerton was chosen the first and only assistant to Governor Bradford in 1621, and continued to be elected to that office until 1624, when the number was enlarged to five, owing to the greatly increased number of inhabitants of the colony; he was sent five or more times to England as agent of the colony, and was one of the most enterprising of the pilgrims. He introduced the fisheries in most parts of New England, and was the first individual who met Governor Winthrop on his arrival before he landed, he being on a voyage to Pemaquid. In point of property, he ranked first in the Plymouth colony, paying taxes to the amount of £3 11*s* when the next in wealth paid £2 5*s*, and was one of the eight who assumed the company's debts in 1627. He resided at various times at Plymouth, Salem, Marblehead, New Amsterdam, and New Haven, and had dealings all over New England, Delaware, Virginia, Barbadoes, &c. His liberality was unbounded, as may be inferred from his unwillingness to join in the persecutions against Roger Williams and the Quakers, and from the following extract from the Old Colony Records, p. 43.* Mr. Sherley in a letter to the Governor,

*'1633 decbr. 2d. Whereas Mr. Will. Bradford was appointed in the behalfe of the Court to enter upon the estate of Godbert Godbertson and Zarah his wife, and to discharge the debts of the said Godbert so far as his estate will make good. And whereas the greatest part of his debts are owing to Mr. Isaack Allerton of Plymouth merchant late brother of the said

speaking of him, says, 'he hath been a trusty honest friend to you all, either there or here.'

The descendants of Isaac Allerton are numerous in New England, though none of them are known to bear his name.

MYLES STANDISH. The name and deeds of this distinguished individual have often been the subject of consideration in the preceding pages, and it is therefore here proposed only to give some account of his family and descendants.

His first wife, Rose, fell an early victim to the disease which during the winter of 1620-1 caused such fearful desolation among the Pilgrims.

His second wife was named Barbara. He removed to Duxbury about the year 1630, and lived at Captain's hill, which place has ever since borne this name.

He died there in 1656, aged about 72. His wife survived him, but the exact time of her death is unknown. His children were Alexander, Miles, Josiah, Charles, Lora, and John. Lora died before him.

Alexander was admitted a freeman in 1648, and lived at Captain's Hill in the same house in which his father lived. This house was burnt, the exact time of which occurrence however is not known. He m. first Sarah, the daughter of Hon. John Alden, and had Miles, Ebenezer, born 1672, Lorah, Lydia, Mercy, Sarah, and Elizabeth. Upon the decease of his wife, he m. Desire, widow of Israel Holmes, (her maiden name was Doten,) and had Thomas, Ichabod, and Desire, born in Marshfield, 1689. He died in Duxbury in 1702, and his widow in Marshfield, 1723.

Miles, 2d son of Capt. Standish, removed to Boston and m. Sarah, daughter of John Winslow, where he died without children.

Ensign Josiah Standish m. first Mary, dau. of John Dingley, of Marshfield, in 1654, who died the same year. He then m. Sarah, the daughter of Samuel Allen of Braintree. He removed to Bridge-

Zarah, the said Isaack hath given free leave to all other his creditors to be fully discharged before he receive anything of his particular debts to himself, desiring rather to lose all than other men should lose any.'

water, but soon after returned to Duxbury, where he was chosen a Selectman, Deputy, and one of the council of war. He removed to Norwich in Connecticut probably in 1686. His children were Miles, Josiah, Samuel, Israel, Mary, Lois, Mehetabel, Martha, and Mercy.

Charles and John, the other sons of Capt. Myles Standish, probably died young, as no account of them appears after their father's decease.

JOHN ALDEN arrived in the Mayflower in 1620, being then about 22 years of age. He married Priscilla Mullins, the daughter of William Mullins.* He early removed to Duxbury and built a house near Eagle-tree pond, where the ruins of his well are still to be seen. His farm was one of the best in Duxbury, and still remains in the possession of his descendants. His children were John, Joseph, David, Jonathan, Elizabeth, Sarah, Ruth, and Mary.

John settled in Boston before Dec. 1659, and had a daughter Mary by his first wife Elizabeth. He married for his second wife Elizabeth Everill,† widow of Abiel deceased, April 1st, 1660 by whom he had 12 children, several of whom lived and had issue. He died March 14th, 1702.

Joseph (2d son of John the pilgrim) was an early settler in Bridgewater. He married Mary, the daughter of Moses Simmons.

David (the third son) was a representative from Duxbury to the General Court, and in 1690 an assistant. He married Mary, daughter of Constant Southworth, and had issue.

Jonathan (4th son) inherited the ancient homestead of his father. He married Abigail Ralat Dec. 10th, 1672, by whom he had four sons. He died in Feb. 1697, aged about 70.

* William Mullins died the spring of 1621. His family consisted of five persons. There exists no account of his wife, or children, excepting Priscilla. There was a William Mullins in Duxbury, about 1642; but whether a son or not the writer has not been able positively to ascertain, or whether he left any descendants.

† This name has been usually copied *Eurill*. Dr. Shurtleff, who is conversant with the old records of Boston and the old families, makes the correction.

Elizabeth, the oldest daughter of John Alden, was the wife of Wm. Paybody, and died at Little Compton, Rhode Island, May 31st, 1717, aged 93.

Sarah m. Alexander Standish; Ruth m. John Bass of Braintree; and Mary m. Thomas Delano.

The subject of this brief notice, was the last survivor of those who signed the Compact on board the Mayflower, and his long and valuable life was distinguished for eminent services rendered to the Colony. He was assistant to all the governors of Plymouth Colony, except Gov. Carver, and occupied that place from the year 1650 to 1686. He died Sept. 12th, 1687, aged 88. The time of his wife's decease is not certainly known. That she survived him is probable from the fact that a receipt is recorded, given by the heirs to Jonathan Alden who administered on the estate of his father, to which the name of Priscilla Alden is annexed. As there was no daughter of that name the inference is strong that she was the widow.

SAMUEL FULLER came in the Mayflower in 1620, and was the first Physician and Surgeon in New England. He rendered important services to the Colony at Salem, both in the line of his profession, and in relation to their spiritual concerns, as appears from a letter of Gov. Endicott, dated May 11th, 1629, to Gov. Bradford, in which he observes, 'I acknowledge myself much bound to you, for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller amongst us, and rejoice much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgment of the outward form of God's worship.' He rendered similar services to the company of Gov. Winthrop soon after their arrival — as appears from his letter to Gov. Bradford dated at Massachusetts, June 28, 1630, at which time they were severely afflicted with sickness. He was deacon of the church in Plymouth till his death, which was sometime between July 30 and October 28th, 1633. His will, dated July 30th, and proved Oct. 28th, 1633, is the earliest on record, in which he mentions his wife Bridget, as then being very sick, and his son Samuel and daughter as both quite young. His wife recovered from her sickness and was alive

in 1664; after which period nothing more has been found respecting her, after diligent enquiry by the writer. Nor has similar enquiry respecting his daughter Mercy proved successful. Samuel, the son, remained in Plymouth till his settlement as the first minister of Middleboro', Dec. 26th, 1694, at which place he had occasionally preached during the 16 preceding years. The following extract is copied from the History of Rehoboth. 'It was voted by the town to send a letter to *Samuel Fuller*, of Plymouth, that if he will come upon trial according to his own proposition, the town is willing to accept of him; and in case the town and he do accord, the Town is willing to accomodate him in the best way they can for his encouragement.' It was also voted and agreed that his mother should be sent for to see if she be willing to come and dwell amongst us, to attend on the office of midwife, to answer the town's necessity, which is great.' These propositions were probably never accepted.

He died August 17, 1695, as appears from his grave-stone, in the 71st year of his age. His will was proved October 1st, 1695. He mentions his wife Elizabeth, Samuel as his oldest son, John as his second, and Isaac as his youngest son. under age. His daughters mentioned were, Mercy, wife of Daniel Cole, Experience, the wife of James Wood, Elizabeth, the wife of Samuel Eaton, and Hannah Fuller.*

WILLIAM WHITE. The name of Mr. White is the sixth in order subscribed to the compact. He died in 1621, but his age is not

* In the Will of Dr. Samuel Fuller various bequests were made as tokens of regard, among others to Gov. Winthrop, Endicot and Roger Williams. That to Roger Williams is in these words, 'Also to my son Samuel two acres of land situated and being at Strawberry Hill, if Mr. Roger Williams refuse to accept of them, as formerly he hath done.' The will was recorded by Edward Winslow, while governor of the Colony. Mention is made in the will of his 'kinsman Samuel, now living in my house,' and he again calls him cousin, (synonymous with nephew,) from which it is inferred that Edward Fuller, who came in the Mayflower and died the first winter, was the brother of Dr. Fuller, and that Samuel called cousin was the son of Edward, whose family consisted of three persons, as appears from his signature to the Compact.

mentioned. His wife, Susanna, married Gov. Edward Winslow, May 12th, 1621. His oldest son, Resolved, married Judith, daughter William Vassal, of Scituate, in 1640. Their children were William, b. April 10, 1642. John, March 11, 1644. Samuel, March 13, 1646. Resolved, Nov. 12, 1647. Anna, June 4, 1649. Elizabeth, June 4, 1652. Josiah, Sept. 29, 1654. Further information is desirable respecting this family. Judge Mitchell observes that Resolved White continued in Marshfield till 1670, at which time he appears to have emigrated to some other part of New England.' His wife died about this time as appears from the Marshfield records. The last notice of him we have seen on record is found in Gov. Josiah Winslow's will, dated in 1675, where he is named as brother, with a bequest.

Peregrine White received his name from the circumstance of his birth on board the Mayflower, in Cape Cod harbor, the latter part of Nov. 1620, the first one born of English parents in New England. He removed to Marshfield with the family of Gov. Edward Winslow, probably about the year 1636.

He married Sarah, the daughter of William Bassett, who then lived in Duxbury, but afterwards moved to Bridgewater, and died in 1667. His children were Daniel, Sylvanus, who died in 1688, Jonathan, Peregrine, Sarah, and Mercy. He died July 20th, 1704, aged 83 years and 8 months, and his wife in 1711. The Boston News Letter of July 31st, 1704, the 15th number of the first newspaper printed in New England, contains the following intelligence. 'Marshfield, July 22d. Capt. Peregrine White, of this town, aged 83 years and eight months, died here the 20th inst. He was vigorous and of a comely aspect to the last.' In Oct. 1665, as appears in the Old Colony Records, the Court granted him 200 acres of land, in compliance with the request of the king's commissioners, desiring, 'that the court would accommodate him with a portion of land, in respect that he was the first of the English that was born in these parts.' He was admitted a member of the Rev. Mr. Thompson's church, 1698, in his 78th year, on which occasion a sermon was delivered from the text, Matthew, 20th chap. 6th and 7th verses.

The following remarks are from an obliging correspondent of

Marshfield. 'Peregrine White, according to some accounts, was rather volatile in early life, but I find an entry on the town records somewhat contradicting this statement, which is as follows. Nov. 16th, 1651. Voted at town meeting that Peregrine White look to all such persons as are disorderly in the Township and give them warning, and in case they do not redress their course of life, they shall use means to redress such abuses as they find in such persons. The same year he was chosen one of the raters. The same in 1655 and 1656. In 1659, deputy to the General Court; in 1660, chosen a grand juryman; in 1664, selectman; 1672 and 3, selectman; in 1675, he was chosen one of the council of war, and is then styled Capt. White. From undisputed tradition, he was very reverential to his mother, making it his practice towards the close of her life, to visit her daily. He rode on horseback, and the color of his horse was black, and the buttons of his coat I have been told were about the size of a Spanish dollar.'

Daniel White, the son of Peregrine, married Hannah Hunt of Duxbury in 1674. Their children were John, b. 1675, Joseph, b. 1678, Thomas 1680, Cornelius 1682, Benjamin 1684, Eleazar 1686, Ebenezer 1691.

Gideon White was great grandson of Peregrine White. He was the son of Cornelius White, who m. Hannah Barstow, and was born July 19, 1718. He m. Joanna Howland in 1743 and moved to Plymouth and died March 3d, 1769, aged 62. His wife Joanna was great granddaughter of John Howland who arrived in the Mayflower. She d. Sept. 23d, 1810, aged 95 years. She was intimately acquainted in the family of Elder Faunce, and received from him many interesting particulars in relation to the Pilgrims, which she was accustomed to relate with much satisfaction to her numerous family connections and friends.

Their children were Cornelius, d. 1779; Joanna, m. Pelham Winslow, d. May 2, 1829, aged 85; Hannah and Mary both died unmarried, the former, January 3d, 1843, the latter, Nov. 28, 1838, aged 87; Elizabeth m. Hamilton L. Earle Esq. an officer in the British service, and died at Gibralter, at the residence of her son-in-law, Col. Durnford, in 1842. Gideon White, their second son,

removed to Shelburne, Nova Scotia, during the revolution, and died in 1829, leaving numerous descendants, at that place, and one daughter in Plymouth, Mrs. Joan Davis, the widow of the late Capt. William Davis. The homestead of Peregrine White is still owned by his descendants.

RICHARD WARREN arrived in the Mayflower, and his family soon after in the Ann. On the occurrence of his death in 1628, the New England's Memorial has the following remarks: 'This year died Mr. Richard Warren, who hath been mentioned before in this book, and was an useful instrument; and during his life bore a deep share in the difficulties and troubles of the first settlement of the plantation of New Plimouth.' His widow Elizabeth died in 1673, aged 93.

Their children were, Nathaniel, m. Sarah Walker, 1645; Joseph m. Priscilla, sister of Elder Faunce, about 1650; Mary, m. Robert Bartlett, 1628; Ann, m. Thomas Little, 1633; Sarah m. John Cooke Jr. 1634; Elizabeth m. Richard Church, the father of Colonel Church, 1636; Abigail m. Anthony Snow of Marshfield, 1639.

JOHN HOWLAND arrived in the Mayflower in 1620, being then 28 years old, and was included in the family of Gov. Carver, whose daughter Elizabeth he married, but at what time does not appear on record. In the assignment of land in 1623 he had four acres, and he then probably had two children, John and Desire, which with himself and wife would correspond with the number of acres above mentioned. In the division of cattle (1627), the names of John and Desire are both mentioned. It therefore seems probable that one or both of these children arrived with their parents in the Mayflower. The number of Gov. Carver's family was eight, and without including one of the children of Howland, it is difficult to make out that number.

Mr. Howland was distinguished for his devotion to the interests of the Colony, both in relation to its civil and religious institutions. He was an assistant for many years.

He lived in Summer street, and afterwards removed to Rockey Nook where he died in 1673, aged 80. His house stood north of

the house of the late Hezekiah Ripley, deceased, where the remains of his cellar are still visible. In the colony records his death is mentioned, with the remark, 'he was a godly man and an ancient professor in the ways of Christ, and proved a useful instrument of good in his place.

The names of his children are mentioned in his will as follows, viz:

Desire Gorham, Hope Chipman, Elizabeth Dickerson, Lydia Brown, Hannah Bosworth, Ruth Cushman.

John Howland,* his oldest son, m. Mary Lee and settled in Barnstable.

Jabez, his 2d son, m. Bethiah Thacher, and finally settled in Bristol, Rhode Island.

Isaac, who m. Elizabeth, daughter of George Vaughan, and settled in Middleboro'.

Joseph, the youngest son, m. Elizabeth Southworth only daughter of Thomas Southworth, 1664.

STEPHEN HOPKINS arrived in the Mayflower, and was prominently engaged in most of the arduous enterprises of the Pilgrims, from their arrival at Cape Cod, till his death. He was much employed in public affairs, and was an assistant from 1633 to 1636. He died in 1644, and from his will it appears that his wife Elizabeth was not living. His oldest son, named 'heir apparent,' in the will, was Caleb. If ever married, he probably left no children, as his brother Gyles, by deed conveyed land which was inherited by him from Stephen, the father. Gyles lived in Yarmouth, and m. Catherine Wheldon, Oct., 1639, and had a son Stephen, to whom a legacy was given in the will, and who settled in Eastham.

* It seems probable that John Howland, Jr. lived in Marshfield a short time before he settled at Barnstable. The following extract is taken from the Marshfield Records. '1659. John Howland jur. pay for his horse, formerly of this Town. May 17, 1655, Elizabeth, daughter of John Howland, born.' The only family of Howland then living at Marshfield, was that of Arthur Howland, who had no son named John. This is confirmed by another circumstance. John Howland Senior of Plymouth owned land in Marshfield, which he exchanged for land at Barnstable.

The daughters named in the will were, 1st, Constance, who m. Nicholas Snow, and died at Eastham, in 1676. He died in 1671. 2d, Deborah, who m. Andrew Ring, in 1646. 3d, Damaris, who m. Jacob Cook, 1646. 4th, Ruth Hopkins. 5th, Elizabeth, who died unmarried about 1666.* Oceanus, born at sea, died early.

The Inventory of Stephen Hopkins contains the first horse on record, appraised at 6 pounds. His stock of cattle consisted of 13 in number, some of which were in the keeping of Gyles, his son, at Yarmouth. Cows valued in the Inventory at £5 10s. Yoke of oxen £15.

JAMES CHILTON and his wife came in the Mayflower with their daughter Mary, who m. John Winslow (brother of the Gov.) before 1627. Mr. Chilton died Dec. 8, 1620, and his wife soon after. Mary Winslow died 1679 at Boston, and her husband d. at Boston, 1674.

Edward ?

Mrs. ALICE SOUTHWORTH, widow of Constant, and daughter of Mr. Carpenter, after the death of her husband came to New England in 1623 in the ship Ann, and married Gov. Bradford Aug. 14th, 1624, and was the mother of all his children who left posterity, viz. William 2d, Mercy and Joseph. She survived her second husband, and her death is thus recorded in the Old Colony Records: 'On the 26th day of March, 1670, Mistris Allice Bradford seni'r changed this life for a better, haueing attained to fourscore yeares of age or therebouts. Shee was a godly matron; and much loued while shee liued and lamented tho' aged when shee died and was honorably enterred on the 29 day of the month aforesaid: att New Plymouth.' She is supposed to have had several sisters in New England; among whom were Priscilla, who married William Wright, Senior, and afterwards John Cooper in 1634; Mary, 'the godly old maid,' and Bridget, the wife of Samuel Fuller, Senior.

Mrs. Southworth had two sons, Constant and Thomas, whom she left in England.

* It will be perceived from the foregoing account, that Dr. Young in his chronicles has omitted the names of several of Stephen Hopkins's children.

Davis in his Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth says Alice Carpenter married Edward Southworth
also Davis' History of Plymouth

Constant, the eldest son, came over in 1628, and probably Thomas came at the same time. These two youths were educated by Gov. Bradford, and both attained to great distinction in the Colonial government. Constant was an assistant and treasurer 16 years. Thomas was an assistant and deputy for many years.

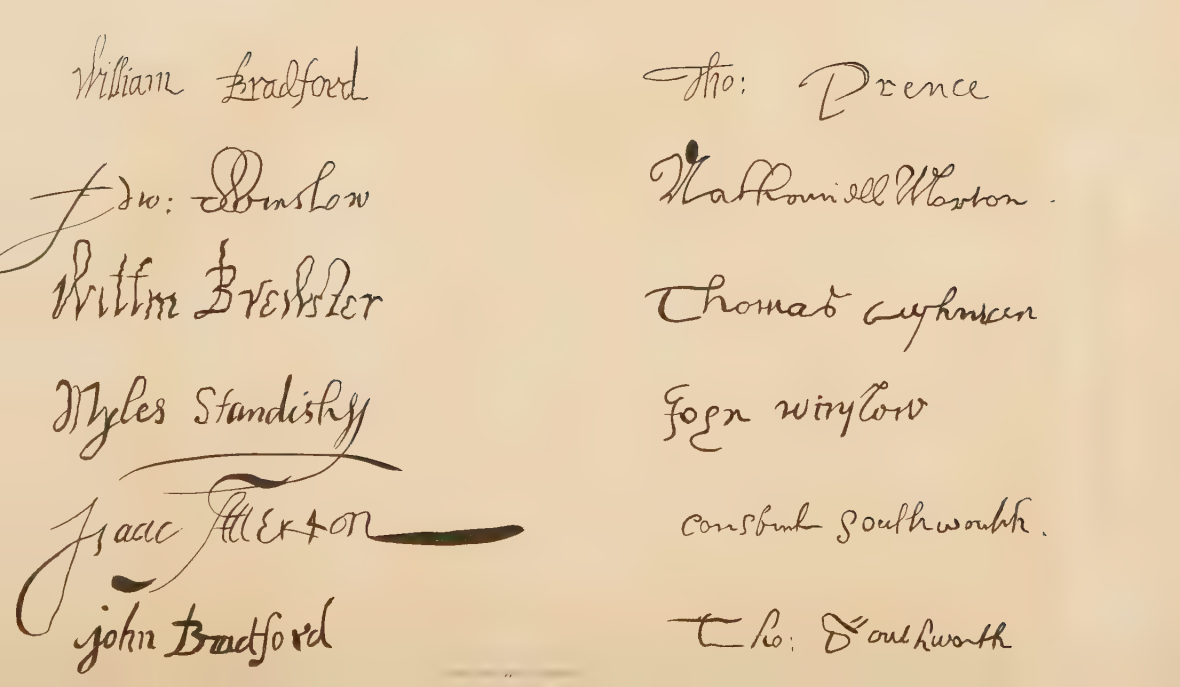
Constant Southworth married Elizabeth, daughter of William Collier of Duxbury, Nov. 2d, 1637, and had Edward who m. Mary; Lieut. Nathaniel, born in 1648, who m. Desire, daughter of Edward Gray, Jan. 10, 1671–2, and died in Middleboro, Jan. 14, 1710–11; Mercy, who m. Samuel Freeman; Alice, who m. Capt. Benj. Church; Mary, who m. David Alden; Elizabeth, who m. William Fobes; Priscilla; and William of Little Compton and Tiverton. Mr. Southworth died March 11th, 1678–9 while Treasurer of the Colony. From him are descended all of this family in New England.

Captain Thomas Southworth married Elizabeth, the daughter of Rev. John Reynor, Sept. 1st, 1641, and died Dec. 8th, 1669, aged 53 years, leaving an only child, Elizabeth, the wife of Joseph Howland.

This family was noted for warlike attainments, nearly all the males, as also the husbands of the females, being officers in the wars with the Indians.

NATHANIEL MORTON was the son of George Morton; who came in the Ann in 1623, and whose wife was the sister of Gov. Bradford, and who died in 1624, leaving Nathaniel, John, Patience, Ephraim, and Sarah. Patience m. John Faunce, father of Elder Thomas Faunce; Sarah m. George Bonum, in 1644.

Nathaniel was the distinguished and highly esteemed Secretary of the Colony from the year 1645 to the time of his death in 1685. He was also Secretary of the United Colonies, and the compiler of the valuable Church Records now in existence, from the origin of the Leyden Church, and author of the New England Memorial, and the Old Colony Records show the extent of his great industry. He m. Lydia Cooper, 1635, who died 1673, and he afterwards m. Ann Templar, 1674. His children were six daughters, viz. Remember, b. in 1637, m. Abraham Jackson, 1657; Mercy m. Joseph Dunham, 1657;


William Bradford
Edw: Winslow
Willm Brewster
Myles Standishy
Isaac Allerton
John Bradford
Tho: Prence
Mathew Cubbitt Morton
Thomas Cushman
Josn Winslow
Constant Southworth
Tho: Southworth

Joanna m. Joseph Prince, of Hull, 1670; Lydia m. George Ellison; Elizabeth m. Nathaniel Bosworth, of Hull, 1670; and Hannah m. Benjamin Bosworth, 1666. He died June 29, 1685, aged 73.

Secretary Morton lived first on the south side of Wellingsly Brook, and afterwards removed to the place now occupied by Capt. —— Allen.

ROBERT BARTLETT came to Plymouth in the Ann in the year 1623. He was born in England in 1603, and married in 1628 Mary Warren, (daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Warren.) He died in 1676, and his wife a few years afterwards.

Their children were,

Benjamin, died 1691, married { 1st Sarah Brewster, 1656, 2d Cicely 1678.

Joseph, b. 1638, d. 1712, m. Hannah Fallowell, who was b. 1638 and d. 1710,

Mary, m. { 1st Richard Foster, Sept. 10, 1651, 2d Jonathan Morey, July 8, 1659.

Rebecca, m. William Harlow, Dec. 20, 1649.

Sarah, m. Samuel Rider, of Yarmouth, Dec. 23, 1656.

Elizabeth, m. Anthony Sprague, of Hingham, Dec. 26, 1661, and d. Feb. 7, 1712-13.

Mercy, b. March 10, 1750-1, m. John Ivey of Boston, Dec. 25, 1668.

Lydia, b. June 8, 1647, m. { 1st James Barnaby, 2d John Nelson of Middleboro'.

His descendants are very numerous in Plymouth county; a further account may be found in Judge Mitchell's History of Bridgewater.

The following list exhibiting the longevity of some of the first planters of the old colony is mostly copied from the Old Colony and Church Records.

Those having an asterisk affixed arrived in some one of the first four ships, namely, the Mayflower, Fortune, Ann, or Little James. The rest arrived afterwards, but most of them before the year 1632.

Names.	Time of decease.	Age.
* William Brewster,	April 16th, 1644	80
William Thomas,*	August, 1651	78
* Julien Kempton, wid. of Manassah Kempton,	Feb. 19, 1664-5	81
Gabriel Fallowell,	Dec. 28, 1667	83
John Dunham, (Deacon,)	March 2, 1668-9	80
* Alice Bradford, (wid. of the Gov.)	March 26, 1670	80
* John Howland,	Feb. 24, 1672-3	80
* Thomas Prence,	March 29, 1673	73
* Elizabeth Warren, (widow of Richard Warren,)	Oct. 2, 1673	90
Ann Tupper, (Sandwich,)	1675	
Priscilla Cooper, (sister of Gov. Bradford's wife Alice,)	1679	91
Dorothy Brown, (Swanzey,)	1675	90
* Edward Bangs,	1678	86
Phineas Pratt,	April 19, 1680	90
* Nathaniel Morton, (Secretary,)	June 29, 1685	73
Robert Finney, (Deacon,)	Jan. 7, 1687	80
Mary Carpenter, (sister to Gov. Bradford's wife,)	1683	90
* John Alden,	Sept. 12, 1687	89
* Experience Mitchell,	1689	80
* Thomas Cushman, (Elder,)	Dec. 10, 1691	84
John Dunham, (son of the Deacon,)	1692	79
Anna Lettice, (wid. of Thomas Lettice,)	July 3, 1687	81
* Elizabeth Howland, (wife of John Howland)	1687	81
Samuel Eddy, (Swanzey,)	1688	†81
George Watson,	Jan. 31, 1688	87
Andrew Ring,	1692	75

* The following is copied from the grave stone of William Thomas, Esq., in the old burial ground at Marshfield, and is, we believe the oldest grave stone in the Old Colony.

Here lies what remains of William Thomas, Esq., one of the founders of New-Plymouth Colony, who died in ye month of August, 1651, about ye 78th year of his age.

The grave stone of Nathaniel Thomas, his son, is also still legible, who died the 13th of Feb. 1674, about the 68th year of his age.

† It is doubtful from the record whether this should be 81 or 87.

* Mary Cushman, (widow of the Elder.)	1690	90
* Thomas Clark, (supposed mate of the Mayflower.)	1697	98
Elizabeth Edey, (Swazey.)	May 24, 1689	82
Richard Wright,	June 9, 1691	83
Patience Whitney, (widow,)	1692	77
George Bonum,	April 28, 1704	95
Samuel King,	August, 1705	90
James Cole,	1709	85
John Done, (Deacon, Eastham,)	1707	110

NOTE. In the next generation, many instances of longevity might be collected. Elder Thomas Faunce died in 1745, aged 99 years. His daughter, Patience Kempton, died at New Bedford, in 1779, aged 105 years and six months. Ephraim Pratt, grandson of Joshua Pratt, one of the first comers at Plymouth, died at Shutesbury, Worcester county, in 1804, aged 116. Ebenezer Cobb was born in Plymouth and died at Kingston, in 1801, aged 107 years, and was of the third generation. John Alden, a descendant of John Alden who came in the Mayflower, died in Middleborough in 1821, aged 102. Three of his children, two daughters and one son, are now living and dwell under the same roof in Middleborough, whose average age is 84 1-3 years.

Widow Abigail Bryant died in Plympton, Feb. 21, 1821, aged 99 years, six months, and ten days.

CLOSING REMARKS ON THE PILGRIMS.

In preparing the foregoing pages for publication, the writer has earnestly sought to present a just and true account of the motives, character, and conduct of the Pilgrims; not, however, without a conscious-

ness that the estimate formed of their claims to the veneration and gratitude of the present age, will by many be regarded as far exceeding the merits to which they are justly entitled.

The cry of intolerance, persecution, and injustice towards the natives, hastily assumed, and framed into serious charges against them, is often deemed of sufficient weight to overbalance other considerations challenging in their behalf our unqualified admiration. It is not difficult to trace the origin of these charges to the same spirit and source which originally drove them into banishment, which could not rest satisfied with this measure of punishment without the attempt to impugn their motives, detract from their worth, and misrepresent their conduct. The fearless spirits, who at so early a period, dared to array themselves in open opposition to the unjust assumptions, both of the hierarchy and throne of England, could not fail to incur their unrelenting hostility.

But whatever opinions may be entertained on these points, whether the charges alleged rest upon any just grounds or not, it will hardly be denied that the Pilgrims accomplished a vast work. While it would doubtless be unwise to claim for them an exemption from the common infirmities of our nature, the opposite extreme which withholds a just recognition of their high achievements is liable to far greater condemnation.

It may well deserve our attention, to consider what might have been the condition of this country at the

present moment, had their perilous enterprise failed of success. Nearly ten years elapsed, after the landing at Plymouth, before any other colony ventured to follow in their footsteps, and had their enterprise proved abortive, a much longer period, according to any just calculation of probabilities, would have intervened, before the discouragements occasioned by successive defeats in the attempts at colonization would have been sufficiently overcome, to justify in the estimation of common prudence, a similar effort.

France, at quite an early period, had, with laudable enterprise, explored our northern and western boundaries, and conceived the purpose of establishing a connected chain of fortified posts, designed eventually to control the destiny of North America. Who may not discern, in the *early* settlement of New England, the only effectual barrier to the execution of this magnificent project of the French nation? In point of fact, the contest for supremacy, between England and France, was long and earnest, and at one time it became extremely doubtful which of these great rivals of empire would ultimately prevail, notwithstanding the superiority of colonial strength possessed by the former power. New England enterprise and courage at last determined this doubtful but all-important question, and history, faithful to its trust, in recording the chivalrous reduction of Louisburg, and other colonial achievements, will award the claims of justice, while it utters only the declarations of truth.

The intrepid pioneers, therefore, by whose instrumentality the great question as to what nation of Europe should predominate in North America, justly deserve to be held in grateful remembrance on both sides of the Atlantic. Who does not rejoice that the English tongue has become the universal language of more than twenty millions of people, and that our institutions, which received their germ from the best examples of Europe, moulded and improved by the successive application of sound principles, aiming to promote the general welfare, and grown into a wider expansion, both of civil and religious liberty, are the invaluable, undisputed inheritance of our land? 'By their fruits ye shall know them. Not by the graceful foliage which dallies with the summer's breeze; — not by the flower which fades with the perfume which it scatters on the gale; — but by the golden perfect fruit, in which the mysterious life of the plant is garnered up; — which the genial earth and kindling sun have ripened into the refreshment and food of man, and which, even when it perishes, leaves behind it the germs of continued and multiplied existence.'

Note. Without intending to justify intolerance in any form, whether of ancient or modern date, it may be remarked, that much of what is charged upon the Fathers as such, resulted from their exposure to the designs often manifested by their enemies at home and abroad, to overthrow both their civil and religious institutions, which it had cost them so much labor and hazard to establish, and which owed their final preservation, to a wonderful prudence and persevering vigilance, defeating not only the purposes of faction, but the assumptions

of royal authority. The undue restriction of individual freedom seems to have been the *incident* rather than the *aim* of their policy.

With respect to the charge of injustice towards the Indian race, we quote the remarks of *James Otis* to Gov. Barnard in 1767 — 'The Indians had perfect confidence in our Fathers, and applied to them in all their difficulties. Nothing has been omitted which *justice* or *humanity* required. We *glory* in their conduct; we *boast* of it as unexampled.'

CHAPTER XII.

Description of Plymouth.

'They sounded the harbor, and found it fit for shipping, and marched into the land and found divers corn fields, and little running brooks, a place as they supposed, fit for situation.' MORTON.

PLYMOUTH is situated in north latitude (at the Court House,) 41°, 57′, 6″. Longitude from Greenwich 70°, 30′, 54″.

Its Indian name was Umpame, written Apaum in the Colony Records, and still so called by the natives of Massapee. It was also called *Patuxet.*

BOUNDS. The bounds of Plymouth were determined by the Colony Court, in the year 1640, of which the following is a description:

'It is enacted and concluded by the Court, that the bounds of Plymouth township shall extend southward to the bounds of Sandwich township; and northward to a little brook, running from Stephen Tracy's to another little brook falling into Blackwater; from the commons left to Duxbury, and the neighborhood thereabout; and westward eight miles up into the land, from any part of the bay or sea; always provided that the bounds shall extend so far up

into the wood lands, as to include the south meadows towards Agawam, lately discovered, and the convenient uplands thereabout.'

These bounds were quite extensive comprising what have since become Plympton, in 1707, Kingston in 1726, and part of Wareham, with Carver taken from Plympton and a part of Halifax in 1734, also taken from Plympton. It is about 16 miles in extent from north to south, and varies from four and a half to nine in width.

Plymouth is built along the sea shore, upon a moderate declivity descending from an extensive pine plain, about one fourth of a mile broad and one half mile in length.

Face and quality of the soil. The predominant growth of forest trees is *Pinus tæda*, designating a soil of third rate quality, which covers much the greater part of the township.

A ridge of elevated pine hills commences at *'Hither Manomet' (so called in the records) within its limits on the sea, and terminates at Woods Hole, 27 miles, ranging north and south, through Sandwich, beyond which they assume a rocky and rugged form, near Falmouth. The most elevated height in this ridge is about four miles from the Town House in Plymouth, being three hundred and ninety-six feet in height, presenting an extensive and sublime prospect of ocean scenery.

* Further Manomet Point, as seen from Sandwich, is a bold feature in prospective, from every part of the Bay.

This elevated ridge separates the first precinct or village of Manomet Ponds from the second and third precincts. It is beautifully situated, commanding a fine view of the bay, and is surrounded by elevated heights, and preserves, perhaps to this day, in its habits and character, as much of the sound principle and primitive simplicity of ancient times, as any part of our country.

Geology. It is not a little curious that one loose rock on the shore of Plymouth Harbor should have become so famous as is that called the 'Pilgrim Rock,' where there is not known in the township a single ledge, save those the fisherman reaches with his lead at various points off the coast. All the rocks *in place* lie buried beneath an unknown thickness of sand, gravel, and clay of the *Drift* formation. This in many places is at least 200 feet thick, and is probably nowhere less than 40. The nearest ledges that appear are in Kingston, a mile or more over the line; and they are of granite, intersected by narrow Trap-dykes. So regular are some of these dykes, as exposed in the cutting of the Rail Road, that they were believed by many to be some ancient artificial structure. It is probable that this granitic formation extends further south beneath the drift, but from this point to Sandwich and round to the Cape, the writer is not aware that any ledge is met with.

Spread over the country so extensively, the peculiarities of the Drift formation are perhaps nowhere better developed than in this neighborhood. The

broken surface of the little hills is the counterpart on a large scale of the chopped and troubled seas that break against their base. No deep seated action has stirred up the mass, and thrown the surface into the regular wave-like ridges of other regions. The power acting on the surface, that brought together and spread these loose materials, has scooped out the hollows between the hills, and made a thousand deep depressions, now occupied by as many lakes and ponds. These, of every variety of form and size lie scattered here and there or grouped together in the pitch pine and scrubby oak woods. Little brooks flowing clearly over their sandy beds, connect one with another, and then find their way to the sea shore. The barrenness of this Geological formation is a surety that the singular and romantic beauty it has given to the environs of Plymouth will not soon be impaired by the clearing of the country.

The cliffs and promontories along the coast are made up entirely of the same sand and gravel. The Boulders scattered through this are of those varieties of Granite, Sienite, Porphyry, Trap, and Conglomerate, which are found in place on the rocky shores of Cohasset and Nahant, or in the Blue Hills of Quincy. As the cliffs have been worn back by the action of the sea, these blocks have tumbled down at their base, lining the shore, until in some places, as along the headland of Manomet, it almost merits the poetical character, that has been given it, of a '*rock bound coast.*' Some of these blocks are of extraordinary

size, measuring twenty feet or more through, yet no parent source, from which they could have been derived, is known, nearer than those named above. 'Pilgrim Rock' is one of these boulders — itself an older pilgrim than those who landed on it. It is an extremely hard variety of Sienitic Granite, of a dark grey color. The mica is in very small quantity, in fine black particles. The rock by its rounded edges bears evidence of its solid character, as well as of the attempts to break specimens from it; which fortunately its extreme hardness renders seldom successful. This rock, now in two pieces, is, each piece, about four feet through.

The long sandy strip of land called *The Beach*, which separates the inner harbor from the sea without, is no less curious for its geological interest than as a singular feature in the scenery. Though only a few rods wide, and its highest sand hills not rising more than twenty feet above the sea, it stretches full three miles long in front of the town, a mile distant from the wharves, and has long interposed itself as a barrier to the strong easterly storms. These throw upon it more sand from the shoals outside, which some years ago was an island above the water, still retaining the name of *Brown's Island*, and the sand seems to be driven yet farther into the inner harbor, which becomes shoaler as Brown's Island wastes away. The beach, protected only by the scattering Beach grass, has wasted faster than its sands were renewed. It is described to have been covered with

trees some sixty years ago, and these no doubt were a very efficient protection to it. At present, it requires the aid of the Government and an occasional appropriation of funds to repair the breaches made by the storms, and secure with piles and brushwood this important bulwark to the lower part of the town.

Botanical Description of Plymouth. Plymouth and its vicinity are somewhat remarkable for the diversity of the plants indigenous to its soil; embracing both those of a strictly botanical, and likewise those of a more general interest. It possesses hill, dale, meadow, swamp, marsh; extended plains covered with a characteristic growth of the pitch-pine; and likewise many sheets of fresh water, some of which are of a picturesque character, some of considerable extent; others, again, of fairy size; and all, embosomed in its woods, interspersed among its ridges; or perhaps connected with one another like chains of lakes, in miniature proportions. These various regions, though of the limited extent of a few miles, are found to be stored with plants; and have been repeatedly explored by botanists, with that success which prompts further inquiry.

The scenery in the immediate vicinity of the town is almost wholly maritime; and to its peculiar associations, as connected with pilgrim history, owes its chief charms. A long extent of seabeach stretches from the main-land near Duxbury, known by the name of the Gurnet. To the westward rises Captain's Hill, an eminence of considerable height and of

much interest, reminding us of that valiant Captain Miles Standish, whose house was situated near its foot. On the extreme east rise the bold blue heights of Manomet, and directly in front of the spectator as he stands on the hill of graves, is the narrow strip of sand which defends the harbor and known as Plymouth beach. Nor will he fail to notice Clarke's Island, bearing a little to the northeast, with its few trees which seem to cluster near the dwelling houses of the farmstead. Washed up on these several beaches by the usual storms, may be found the various species of seaweeds (*Algæ,*) which combine inimitable beauty in some of the more delicate forms with direct utility in the coarser kinds. The sands above high water mark, are covered with the useful beachgrass, the sea-pea, the maritime sandwort, &c. &c. and with the several other sorts of vegetation, which usually thrive in such situations. The glaucous-leaved seaside Gromwell (*Lithospermum maritimum*) has been detected on these shores; a plant better known as inhabiting a more eastern coast. In the cultivated grassfields may be seen the yellow rattle, rather conspicuous for its large and showy flowers. In the meadows grow the tall, purple, fimbriated orchis, and the delicate pure white species also, the bulbous arethusa, and other forms of floral beauty, which delight themselves in such spots. Nor wanting is the rich cardinal-flower on the plashy brink of the streams. The dry hill-sides afford the blazing star (*Liatris*); in August conspicuous by its purple spikes

of blossoms at the end of its long, wand-like stems; while in every copse, in each thicket, amid forest shades and in the open pasture land, burst forth, on returning Spring, the roseate blossoms of the *epigæa*, better known to our town's folks as the MAY-FLOWER; and whose admiration of its charming habits is only equaled by the associations which its trivial and accidental name awakens. This truly lovely little plant is a hardy denizen of every northern state of New England, and, appearing in bloom early in May, it is familiarly known as the *May* flower, more especially in New Hampshire, where it is the *first* flower of spring. With us, when spring is unusually forward, in some favorable situation, it has been known to break forth from its winter's sleep at the beginning or towards the middle of April: and to secure the first specimen of the first Mayflower is considered a fortunate circumstance among its admirers. A pleasing fiction obtains with some good people hereabouts; viz. that this little flower is peculiar to this section of the country; but truth, which always proves stronger than fiction, has, however, reluctantly dispelled the illusion. None the less a favorite, has the *epigæa* continued; and on any pleasant afternoon in Spring time, in the streets of Plymouth, may be seen numerous children and young persons bearing handfuls of these pretty blossoms, which they have culled with choice selection from the neighboring woods and hills. A curious and somewhat rare plant, closely related to the *crowberry* or *crakeberry* of alpine regions, flourishes

with us in certain spots. This is an early flower, indeed, expanding its little and obscure filaments in April, and reminding us, in its scientific name, of a diligent investigator of New England botany.

The occurrence of *rare plants* in secluded spots and in narrow areas is a singular fact. Another instance of the kind besides that last mentioned, occurs in the linear-leaved sundew which was first detected here, by the now venerable Judge Davis, (as we are informed by Dr. Bigelow in his *Plants of Boston and its Vicinity*) several years ago; and which very plant since, has been one of the most interesting of this region. Bordering the ponds may be found Sabbatia, elegant with its bloom of every tint of color, from deep rose to purest white — the hyssop-leaved hedge-nettle, the humble *gratiola aurea* with blossoms subject to variations, from its usual golden hue to paler yellow, and even to white — the rosy coreopsis, the narrow-leaved golden-rod, &c. &c. Rising from the bottom of the shallower parts of the water, may be seen xyris, with heads of yellow florets issuing from brown scales, frequently found of remarkable size — the pickerel-weed, looking like spikes of blue hyacinths, and quite as pretty — the white arrow-head — the curious, little stems of the bladder-worts, covered with purplish or else with yellow flowers, while their finely divided foliage, kept from sinking by singularly contrived apparatus, is slightly fixed by delicate root fibres in the softooze, or float at random and at pleasure. Of these, six or seven species may be

found in close proximity. Entangled among them, perhaps, are the water-mill-foils — the aquatic ranunculuses with starry blossoms like flakes of snow, lying on the still surface — the glossy leaved water-targets — curious species of sedges, bull-rushes, and many other grass-like plants besides. And then in drier situations we have the tall, gorgeous fire-weed, rivaling the garden phloxes — while to chance on a tuft of the orange-colored asclepias which may be also found, this were delightful indeed.

To those, who love to steal away into Nature's retreats — to sit listening to the perpetual sighing of the summer breeze midst the pine branches, or to tread the white sanded margins of our crystal lakelets — to those, who love a walk for its own sake — or to cull flowers — or to forget their business or their cares for a brief space of time, there may be found in and near this old town of Plymouth, sufficient inducements besides even Forefathers' Rock, the memory of bygone days, the traditionary stories and cherished relics of the pilgrimage. Tracts of wild forests, which have never been cleared for cultivation, and in which the fallow deer yet roam at large; and the general features and outlines of what this spot was, more than two centuries ago, will not fail to forcibly remind them of that primitive wilderness, in which Freedom sought an asylum and a resting place.

Plymouth Harbor. The harbor is protected by a beach three miles in extent, about one mile from the wharves. This beach is much reduced from its orig-

inal width by the inroads of the sea. It was originally well wooded, but notwithstanding the fines early imposed, to prevent depredation, the trees have all disappeared. Towards the northern part of it, within 60 or 70 years, there was a thick swamp covered with pine, cherry and other trees. It abounded also with beach plums and grapes. In 1764 two small breaches were made by the sea near this swamp, requiring £20 for repairs. Dec. 25, 1778, a severe storm greatly increased these breaches, and a hedge fence was made for its protection. In 1784 a heavy gale, with a high tide, carried off most of the trees. In 1685, the general court made a conditional grant of 500 pounds, but through inability the town could not comply with its conditions. In 1806, a Township of land was granted, on condition that the town raise $5000 for repairing the Beach. In 1812 a lottery was granted, the proceeds of which, amounting to $16,000, were applied for repairs. Previous to the year 1806, more than $40,000 had been expended without any aid from Government. An appropriation made by the General Government in 1824 and 1825 of $43,566, which sum was judiciously expended under the direction of Lieut. Chase and Col. Totten, of the United States Engineer Department, has resulted in the preservation of this important barrier to the ocean, which otherwise must long since have been nearly destroyed. It still requires vigilant attention.

The GURNET, at the entrance of the harbor, contains about 27 acres of good land. Of the original growth of wood nothing remains. It is the extreme point of Marshfield beach and distant from the main land about seven miles. A light house was erected by the then Province of Massachusetts, on this point in 1768, costing £660, 17*s.*, which was consumed by fire on July 2d, 1801; and that now standing was erected by the United States in 1803. It has two lights, about 70 feet above the sea.

SAVQUISH, an Indian name signifying clams, is a head land, connected with the Gurnet by a narrow neck, and contains about 14 acres. Between the Gurnet and the western point of Saquish, the cove is formed, which was 'full of breakers,' from which the Shallop of the Pilgrims when driven by tempest, narrowly escaped destruction. At Stage Point, within this cove, Mr. William Paddy and Mr. John Hewes erected fishing stages about the year 1613, near which Bass were seined. Clark's Island, a little to the north of Saquish, has already been described.

COW YARD. This place, from the arrival of the Mayflower to the present time, has served as a most convenient place of anchorage, between Beach Point and Clark's Island; distant from Town 1½ miles.

BROWN'S ISLAND is about one-half a mile N. N. West of Beach Point. Though now under water, it was no doubt covered with trees, when the pilgrims arrived, and was one of the 'two islands' of the harbor, mentioned in their first history. This is confirmed by

the statements of elderly persons now living, who in their early days discovered the stumps of trees there. The Island being so near the anchorage ground of all strangers who visited New England for many years, the trees were perhaps soon converted into fire-wood, leaving it exposed to a rapid destruction from the violence of easterly storms. Its name was probably derived from Peter Brown, who came in the Mayflower, as there was no person then living in the colony so likely to give it that name. According to Gov. Winthrop, Oct. 6, 1635, two shallops were cast away upon 'Brown's Island,' near the Gurnet's nose, and the men on board were all drowned.

Agriculture and Horticulture. As a farming town Plymouth possesses, as might be expected from the character of its soil, but few natural advantages, and the inhabitants have generally found other modes of employment more profitable. The cleared lands are about five miles by one half in extent. On this subject a friend engaged in agricultural pursuits observes, 'that the sea by equalizing the temperature through the year gives us mild winters and a long 'season.' There is an old standing prejudice that nothing on the New England coast will grow, and we are sorry to see that Mr. Downing, in his very pleasant book on the fruits of America, falls in with this popular error. Nothing is more certain, than that excessive coldness of the atmosphere is injurious to vegetation; but with us the east wind serves only as a *balance to the broiling summer sun.* It also

retards vegetation in the spring, and thus saves us from late frosts, often so destructive in the interior of the state. On the whole we are thankful for the east wind. The land is of easy tillage and from the numerous swamps and the contiguous shores of the sea may be readily supplied and enriched.

The fruits exhibited by the Old Colony Horticultural Society in September and October of 1845, were of the first excellence, and have never been surpassed in New England. Skill and industry have never faded from the east wind or any other point of climate. Indeed, there are many indications that the art of gardening will not only receive more attention than it has done in former times, but take the place of other employments.

Commerce and the Fisheries. One of the inducements held out by the Pilgrims, to King James the first, when they applied for a patent, was the prospect of advantage to the crown, from the establishment of the fisheries in America, and though his Majesty would not wholly swallow this *bait*, in exchange for *toleration*, he was so far inclined to its taste, 'as to connive at them if they would carry themselves peaceably.' The want of sufficient capital prevented the first settlers from doing much in this business, and the manufacture of lumber, and traffic with the natives, were the earliest principal sources of income. The enterprise of Isaac Allerton, however, accomplished much in this respect; and Gov. Winthrop observes in his history, that, February

1st, 1633, Mr. Allerton fished with eight boats at Marblehead. That the fisheries did not for some time increase to the extent anticipated, appears from the fact that in 1628, when the colony trade was purchased for six years and assumed by eight of their number, the whole amount of shipping was, 'the pinnace, bass-boat, and shallop at Manomet.'

In 1670, the valuation of fish boats was, four at 25 pounds; two at 18 pounds; one at 12 pounds; in all 148 pounds sterling. From this period the fisheries increased more rapidly, and in 1770 amounted to about seventy sail, from thirty to forty-five tons each, navigated by from six to eight men.

The number of merchant vessels employed in the Liverpool trade, from 1755 to 1770 was three brigs amounting to four hundred and seventy tons. At this period only one vessel, Capt. Worth, sailed from Boston in the same trade, excepting a schooner owned by Samuel A. Otis, Esq., which made her outfits at Plymouth. Other vessels in the merchant service at this time have been estimated at twenty.

Vessels employed in the cod and mackerel fisheries in 1845, fifty-five; tonnage four thousand; mackerel taken one hundred and twenty barrels; value $780; codfish 40,617 quintals; value $93,107; salt consumed 48,575 bushels; capital $104,993; men employed 465. Vessels employed in the whalefishery five; tonnage 998; sperm oil imported 6,667 gallons; value $6,007; whale oil 860 gallons; value $355; capital 77,000; men employed 107. Several freight-

ing ships are owned by our merchants engaged in foreign trade, the tonnage not ascertained. Their outfits are made mostly in Boston.*

Manufactures. There are two rolling, slitting, and nail mills — iron manufactured and not made into nails, 600 tons, value $55,000; nail machines 30; m'd 1,000 tons; v. 85,000; capital $100,000; hands employed 50. One of these establishments is at Chiltonville, 3 miles from town, and the other on Town Brook. One forge, bar iron, anchors, and cables m'd 146 tons; value 8,800; c. $5000.

The Plymouth mills incorporated in 1815, capital 30,000. This establishment manufactures a large amount of rivets of a superior quality, and employs 12 hands.

Cordage Manufactories — two of these are on a large scale, having water power. Cordage made, 912 tons; value $203,800; capital $133,700; men employed, 139.

The factory at Chiltonville, was built and incorporated in 1812, under the name of the Plymouth Woollen and Cotton Factory. It is now used for manufacturing cotton ducks; employs a capital of

* The average number of vessels annually engaged in the fisheries at Plymouth from 1765 to 1775 was 60; tonnage 2,400; men employed 420; fish taken 2,400 quintals, mostly shipped to the West Indies and south of Europe. The vessels thus engaged in the whole state of Massachusetts during the same period was 665; tonnage 25,650; men 4,405; fish taken 250,650 quintals; 108,600 being shipped to the south of Europe; 142,050 to the West Indies. See Pitkin's Statistics, page 83.

about $10,000, and 75 persons. Value of manufactured goods about $75,000. Since the present liberal and enterprising owners of this establishment commenced operations, the village around it wears a different aspect, and is greatly improved.

Oil and Sperm Candle Manufactories, two — oil m'd, 45,500 gallons; value 38,200; candles 34,750 pounds; value 8,687; capital $45,000; employed, 7.

Two establishments in town are engaged to a considerable extent in the manufacture of stocks and other articles usually connected with that business, producing annually to the value of more than 25,000 dollars.

With the advantages of water and rail road communication, it is believed few places possess better advantages for manufacturing pursuits. It possesses the best accommodations for the erection of steam power, and there is still a surplus of water power, now practically unavailable, which in time may become the means of adding largely to the business of the town.

Census of Plymouth at Different Periods. In a work on New England, by Capt. John Smith, published in 1631, which may be found in the Massachusetts Historical Collections vol. 3, 3d series — he says, under date of 1624. 'In the plantation their is about one hundred and four score persons, some cattle, but many swine and poultry.' In 1629, when the colony charter was granted, the number of inhabitants mentioned in that instrument was 300, and

Smith, before quoted, when speaking of Gov. Winthrop's colony, in 1631, estimates the number in Plymouth at between four and five hundred persons. The introduction of cattle into the colony, induced the planters to seek out situations favorable for their support, and for many years, mowing lands were annually granted by the court, to different individuals. This arrangement, however, was too limited, and situations more favorable in the abundance of grass, led many planters to establish themselves at Jones River, Duxbury, Marshfield, Barnstable and Yarmouth. In 1644, it was seriously debated whether the whole body should remove to some more favorable region. This question was so far settled that seven individuals commenced the settlement of Eastham; but whatever advantages that place afforded, it was found inadequate to accommodate the whole, and pilgrim ground had attractions, it seems, which the hope of gain could not wholly overcome.

In 1701 a division of lands was made among 201 freeholders of Plymouth. Estimating their families at 6 each, the population would be 1,206, an estimate probably not far from the truth. In 1643, the males from 16 to 60 years of age, capable of bearing arms, were 146. One in the score, was the rate of military service. In 1646, the Freemen and Townsmen (voters) were 79; 1670, 51; 1683, 55; 1689, 75.

In 1764. Including 77 colored persons and 48 Indians, the number of inhabitants was 2,225; 1776, 2,655; 1783, 2,380. According to the United States

census in 1790, 2,995; 1800, 3,524; 1810, 4,228; 1820, 4,348; 1830, 4,758; 1840, 5,281. The present population is probably about 5,600.

The number of dwelling houses, including 98 at Manomet ponds, is 704. The number of ratable polls 1,305; qualified voters 1,251. Taxable property in 1845, $2,271,300, at 5,28 on 1000 dollars.

The list of persons in the Colony able to bear arms, from the age of 16 to 60 years, as taken from the records, under date of 1643, was, in Plymouth, 146; Duxbury, 82; Scituate, 100; Barnstable, 60; Yarmouth, 59; Sandwich, 68; Marshfield, 50; Taunton, 54. Estimating the men able to bear arms as one in 5, the population of 1643, would stand, in Plymouth, 730, and in the whole Colony, 3,055.*

Public Buildings. The Court House standing in Court Square, (in early times called Framing Green,) was built in 1820, and is fitted up in the best manner, for accommodating the courts of law, and the public officers of the county; having fire-proof apartments for the safe keeping of records. The jail and dwelling-house attached to it, were built about the same time. The first prison was erected

* The probable number of Indians inhabiting New England at the time when the Pilgrims landed, is estimated by the Hon. Albert Gallatin at from 30 to 40,000; and of this number it is equally probable that from 15 to 20,000, lived within 40 miles of Plymouth. When this number is compared with the small number of the English inhabitants in the Colony, as shown by the preceding statements, it may justly excite our wonder that they were able to sustain their perilous position in the land.

in 1641 and was 22 feet by 16, two stories high, and stood near Prison Brook in Summer street, where the house lately owned by Nathaniel Russell, Esq., stands. The second jail stood in the same street on the lot owned by Capt. Ichabod Davie; and the third where the Town House above described, stands. It is gratifying to remark, that though the size of these necessary instruments of terror to evil doers, has been successively enlarged, there seems to have been, for many years past, less occasion for their use.

Pilgrim Hall has already been described.

Alms House. In 1826, the town purchased a few acres of land situated on the south side of Town Brook, on which they erected a commodious brick house, and other buildings, at the cost of about $5,000, where the destitute are comfortably provided, under the charge of a superintendent, annually appointed. The amount of expenditure, above the income of labor, is about $1,500, exclusive of the sums paid for cases of insanity, where individuals are sent to the Worcester Hospital, amounting, for six individuals, to about $800.

The Market is kept under the Court House, and is well supplied with most kinds of wild fowl, poultry and other substantial articles of consumption required by the wants of the people.

Societies. The Pilgrim Society was instituted in 1620, by the citizens of Plymouth and others in New England, to commemorate the landing and to honor the memory of the intrepid men, who first

stepped on Plymouth Rock. The present number of the society is about . The condition of membership was formerly the payment of 10 dollars, now reduced to the sum of five dollars. An appropriate diploma, has been prepared for distribution, to those who join the society.

The first Presidents of the Society were Hon. Joshua Thomas, John Watson, Alden Bradford, and Nath. M. Davis, Esqrs.

The present officers are Charles Henry Warren, President; William Davis, Vice President; Andrew L. Russell, Recording Secretary; Benjamin M. Watson, Corresponding Secretary; William S. Russell, Librarian and Cabinet Keeper; Nathaniel M. Davis, John B. Thomas, Isaac L. Hedge, William M. Jackson, Schuyler Sampson, Joseph Cushman, of Plymouth, and James T. Hayward and William Thomas, of Boston, Trustees.

The following is a list of those who have delivered public addresses in commemoration of the landing of the fathers, in 1620. The asterisk prefixed to some of the names, designates those whose discourses have not been published.

1769, First celebration by Old Colony Club.
1770, Second celebration by Old Colony Club.
1771, Third celebration by Old Colony Club.
1772, Rev. Chandler Robbins — For Old Colony Club.
1773, Rev. Charles Turner — For Old Colony Club. By the town and by the first parish.

1774, Rev. Gad Hitchcock, Pembroke.
1775, Rev. Samuel Baldwin, Hanover.
1776, Rev. Sylvanus Conant, Middleborough.
1777, Rev. Samuel West, Dartmouth.
1778, Rev. Timothy Hilliard, Barnstable. *
1779, Rev. William Shaw, Marshfield. *
1780, Rev. Jonathan Moor, Rochester. *

From this time the public observances of the day were suspended, till

1791, Rev. Chandler Robbins, D. D., of Plymouth.
1795, }
1796, } Private Celebration.
1797, }
1798, Dr. Zaccheus Bartlett, Plymouth, Oration.*

1799, The day came so near that appointed for the ordination of Rev. Mr. Kendall, that it was not celebrated by a public discourse.

1800, John Davis, Esq., Boston, Oration. *
1801, Rev. John Allyn, D. D., Duxbury.
1802, John Q. Adams, Esq., Quincy, Oration.
1803, Rev. John T. Kirkland, D. D., Boston. *
1804, (Lord's Day) Rev. James Kendall, Plymouth. *
1805, Alden Bradford, Esq., Boston.
1806, Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D., Cambridge.
1807, Rev. James Freeman, D. D., Boston. *
1808, Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, Dorchester.
1809, Rev. Abiel Abbot, Beverly.
1811, Rev. John Elliot, D. D., Boston.
1815, Rev. James Flint, Bridgewater.

1817, Rev. Horace Holley, Boston. *
1818, Wendell Davis, Esq., Sandwich. *
1819, Francis C. Gray, Esq., Boston.
1820, Daniel Webster, Esq., Boston, by Pilgrim Society.
1824, Professor Edward Everett, Cambridge, by Pilgrim Society.
1831, Rev. John Brazer, Salem, by First Parish in Plymouth.*

The following anniversaries were commemorated by the third parish in Plymouth.

1826, Rev. Richard S. Storrs, Braintree.
1827, Rev. Lyman Beecher, D. D., Boston.
1828, Rev. Samuel Green, Boston.
1829, Rev. Daniel Huntington, Bridgewater.
1830, Rev. Benjamin Wisner, D. D., Boston.
1831, Rev. John Codman, D. D., Dorchester.
1832, Rev. Convers Francis of Watertown for the First Parish.
Rev. Mr. Bigelow of Rochester, for the third Parish.
1833, Rev. Mr. Barrett of Boston, for the First Parish.
1834, Rev. G. W. Blagden of Boston, for the Pilgrim Society.
1835, Hon. Peleg Sprague, by Pilgrim Society.
1837, Rev. Robert B. Hall, by Pilgrim Society.*
1838, Rev. Thomas Robbins, by Pilgrim Society.*
1841, Joseph R. Chandler, Esq., of Philadelphia, by Pilgrim Society.*

1845, a public celebration, religious services in the First church, a public dinner and addresses.

Public celebrations of the Anniversary of the Landing, have been frequent in other parts of our country, particularly in the city of New York, and the New England Society there, instituted in 1807, to honor the memory of the Pilgrims, we believe has rarely permitted the day to pass, without the observance of public services. Purposes of relief to the destitute are connected with the objects of this society, and in this respect its operations have accomplished great good. There is also a similar association at Charlestown, South Carolina, formed in 1820, and one at Philadelphia, 1845. The day has also been celebrated publicly, west of the Alleghanies, at Hillsboro', Cincinnati, New Orleans, Louisville, and St. Louis.

Diseases of Plymouth. The most prevalent diseases, in the town of Plymouth, are those affecting the organs within the cavity of the chest; and to these pulmonary consumption bears its usual proportion, and pursues its ordinary fatal course, occasioning perhaps one-sixth of the whole number of deaths. Other inflammatory diseases, as dysentery and rheumatism, are met with, but seldom prove fatal. Idiopathic fevers, assuming the typhoid type, are occasionally seen, but are much less common than elsewhere, in the compact part of the town, and are not often malignant or mortal. Among children, croup, lung fevers, cholera and diarrhœa, are the

prevailing diseases; the first comparatively infrequent, but the three last of greater frequency, often difficult of management, and fatal in their tendency. Epidemics of scarlet fever and measles appear at periods of the usual interval, and produce their usual average of mortality. Insanity bears perhaps rather an uncommon proportion to the population. As a general remark, it may be said, that the inhabitants of this town are more healthy than those of places in its vicinity. — *Communicated by Dr. Warren.*

Bill of Mortality. The deaths in seven years, from 1836 to 1842 inclusive, according to Record, were 649, — an average of $92\frac{5}{7}$ per annum, being about one in $56\frac{3}{4}$ of the whole population. The average deaths, during the last three years, is not far from the same. It is believed that the health of Plymouth may well compare with that of any other place in the county, but the means of an accurate comparison are not at hand.

Physicians in Plymouth from 1620. — Those with this mark * died in Plymouth.

*Samuel Fuller, from 1620 to 1633.

Matthew Fuller, from 1640 to 1653, died at Barnstable.

*Francis LeBaron, 1693 to 1704.

*Thomas Little, 1700 to 1712.

*Lazarus LeBaron, 1720 to 1773.

*Joseph LeBaron, to 1761.

*Lazarus LeBaron Jr., to 1784.

*William Thomas, 1802.

*Nathaniel Lathrop, M. D., 1828.

*James Thatcher, M. D., M. M. S., 1844.
*Rosseter Cotton.
*Stephen Marcy.
*Zacheus Bartlett, 1835.
*Isaac Barrows.
*Caleb Boutelle, M. D., M. M. S., 1819.
Andrew Mackie, M. D., M. M. S., removed.
Robert Capen, M. M. S., removed.
*Hervey N. Preston, M. D., M. M. S., 1837.
Charles Cotton, M. D., removed.
Amariah Preston, removed.
Levi Hubbard, removed.

Living in Plymouth at present —

Nathan Hayward, M. D., M. M. S., relinquished practice.
Winslow Warren, M. D., M. M. S.
Timothy Gordon, M. M. S.
Alexander Jackson, M. D., M. M. S.
Benjamin Hubbard.
Samuel Merritt, M. M. S.

Public Schools. The first instance of legislation on the subject of Free Schools is found in the court proceedings of 1663, as follows: 'It is proposed by the Court unto the several townships in this jurisdiction as a thing that they ought to take into their serious consideration that some course may be taken that in every town there may be a schoolmaster set up to train up children to reading and writing.' At this time 42 years had elapsed from the first settlement of Plymouth. Previous to this period, the Colony was prin-

cipally indebted, for the means of education, to the learned and venerable clergy, who preferred nonconformity and exile, rather than adapt their consciences to the requisitions of unrighteous power. In every new settlement, the first object was to establish public worship, and secure an able minister; and the flock under his charge were not left without an earnest endeavor to impart, at least, the knowledge of the scriptures, and ability to read them. These efforts, under every disadvantage of poverty and severe labor, paved the way for the school house.

In the year 1635, Feb. 11th, it appears from the Old Colony Records, that 'Benjamin Eaton, with his mother's consent, is put to Bridget Fuller, (the widow of Dr. Samuel Fuller,) being *to keep him at school two years*, and employ him after in such service as she saw good, and he may be fit for: It further appears from Dr. Fuller's will in 1633, that several young persons were in his family, some belonging to Massachusetts. It is therefore inferred that Mrs. Fuller was the first Pilgrim Schoolmistress. In after times the names of Mrs. Cotton, Keen, Rickard, Cobb, Plasket, Weston and others, were teachers, most of them to quite an advanced period of life.

In 1670 a grant was made by the government of the Colony, 'of all such profits as might or should annually accrue to the Colony, from time to time for fishing with nets or seines at Cape Cod, for mackerel, bass or herrings, to be improved for and towards a *free school*, in some town of this jurisdiction, provided

a beginning were made within one year from the grant.' In 1672, by another act of court in conjunction with the appropriation of the income of lands at Agawam and Seipecan and liberal individual subscriptions, means were secured adequate to the support of a Grammar School, which has been continued to the present time, with improvements corresponding to the increase of means. In the establishment of free schools Gov. Prence was zealous and persevering, and his memory is prominently associated in connection with an institution, fraught with the highest benefits to our community.

From the observations of the late Samuel Davis Esq., on the schools of Plymouth, the following remarks are extracted. 'Cape Cod therefore, which afforded the first shelter to the Pilgrims in 1620, at a subsequent period, as we have stated from our records, afforded also the first fund for the Education of their children.' *

Under the date of July 4th, 1672, an act of Court recommends a contribution by the people of the Colony for the benefit of Harvard College.

The sum of $6,000 is appropriated for public schools the present year, which is divided among districts, in proportion to the number of children from the age of 4 to 16 years — nearly four dollars to each — the whole number being 1524. Besides this appropriation, many districts pay by subscription a considerable amount, in addition. Number of districts, 18.

* See Appendix F.

Private Schools. Of these there are two in town, in which the higher branches of learning are taught, and well sustained by students both at home and from abroad, one of which, for Misses, is kept by the Rev. Henry F. Edes, and the other by Charles Burton, Esq.

The following is a list of those born in Plymouth, who were graduates at our Colleges. Those marked thus * are deceased; those in italics have been ordained to the work of the ministry.

1642, **Nathaniel Brewster.*
1650, *Isaac Allerton.
1661, **Nathaniel Chauncy,* } Twin sons of
*Elnathan Chauncy, } Rev. Dr. Chauncy.
1663, **John Rayner.*
1685, **Roland Cotton.*
1698, **Josiah Cotton.*
1701, **Theophilus Cotton.*
1707, **William Shurtleff.*
1726, *Isaac Lathrop.
1730, **John Cotton.*
1735, *John Watson.
1745, *James Warren.
1745, *Thomas Foster.
1751, *William Watson.
1753, *Pelham Winslow.
1756, *Bartlett Le Baron.
1756, *Nathaniel Lathrop.
1759, **Abiel Leonard,* S. T. D. Nassau Hall.
1765, *Edward Winslow.
1766, *John Watson.

1768, *Thomas Leonard.
1771, Perez Morton.
1771, *Jacob Bacon.
1772, *Joshua Thomas.
1776, *James Warren.
1781, John Davis, LL. D. Dartmouth.
1782, *Chandler Robbins.
1782, *Joseph Bartlett.
1782, *Charles Warren.
1783, Barnabas Hedge.
1783, William Jackson.
1789, Zaccheus Bartlett.
1790, **Joseph Warren.*
1793, *Ward Cotton.*
1796, *Wendell Davis.
1798, Andrew Croswell.
1798, **Samuel Prince Robbins.*
1799, Abner Bartlett.
1802, **Caleb Holmes.*
1804, Nathaniel Morton Davis.
1806, John Boies Thomas.
1807, **Ezra Shaw Goodwin.*
1807, William Thomas.
1808, Charles Cotton.
1808, *John Torrey.
1810, *John Watson Davis.
1810, John Cotton.
1810, Rufus Bacon.
1813, Winslow Warren.
1814, *Isaac Eames Cobb.
1815, Pelham Winslow Warren.

1817, Charles Henry Warren.
1818, Sidney Bartlett.
1820, Isaac Lothrop Hedge.
1820, Nathaniel Russell.
1823, *James Augustus Kendall.*
1826, *Hersey Bradford Goodwin.*
1827, George Bartlett.
1827, Andrew Leach Russell.
1831, *Francis James Russell.
1832, Le Baron Russell.
1833, Winslow Marston Watson.
1835, Allen Crocker Spooner.
Lemuel Stephens.
1836, *Robert Bartlett.
James Thacher Hodge.
1837, William Davis.
1839, Benjamin Marston Watson.
1840, Charles Gideon Davis.
William Goodwin Russell.
1841, Abraham Jackson.
1842, William Thomas Davis.
John Goddard Jackson.
1843, John Jackson Russell.
1845, Thomas Russell.

Churches of Plymouth. The First Congregational Church. Succession of Pastors: Ralph Smith, 1629; John Rayner, 1636; John Cotton, 1668; Ephraim Little, 1699; Nathaniel Leonard, 1724; Chandler Robbins, 1760; James Kendall, 1800; George W. Briggs as colleague Pastor, 1837.

Second Cong. church at Manomet Ponds. This church was organized Nov. 8, 1738, and consisted of 25 members. Pastors, Jonathan Ellis, ordained Nov. 8, 1738, dismissed Feb. 1, 1757; Elijah Packard, ordained Dec. 26, 1753, dismissed, Feb. 1, 1757; Ivory Hovey, installed April 18, 1770, died Nov. 4, 1803; Seth Stetson ordained July 18, 1804, dismissed 1819; Harvey Bushnell ordained Nov. 21, 1821, dismissed June 30, 1823; Moses Partridge ordained April 21, 1824, died Sept. 25, 1824; Joshua Barrett ordained Jan. 11, 1826, dismissed Nov. 11, 1833; Gaius Conant installed April 24, 1834, dismissed May 14, 1841; John Dwight installed July 28, 1841.

Third Cong. Church, or Church of the Pilgrimage. Their first house of worship was built in 1801; the present one in 1844. Pastors, Adoniram Judson, installed May 12, 1802. His connection was dissolved with the church in 1819, he having embraced the Baptist faith. William T. Torrey was installed Jan. 1, 1818, dismissed March 12, 1823. Frederic Freeman installed 1824. In 1830, sanctioned by a council convened on the 17th of March, a separation of this church occurred, and 59 members were formed into a new church, denominated the Robinson Congregational Church. The connection of Mr. Freeman with this church was dissolved in May, 1833. Thomas Boutelle was ordained May 21st, 1834, dismissed April 4, 1837. Robert B. Hall, ordained Aug. 23, 1837, and having addressed a letter of resignation to the church, his connection with it

was dissolved in 1844. Charles S. Porter was installed 1844.

The Fourth Congregational Church, at Eel River, was organized in 1814, from the first and third churches. Benjamin Whittemore was their first minister, and still continues in that office. The Society erected a new church in 1840 of spacious size and handsome appearance.

Baptist Society. This church was constituted in 1809, and Lewis Leonard was ordained their first pastor, on which occasion Rev. Caleb Blood delivered the sermon. Mr. Leonard was succeeded by Stephen S. Nelson, July 28, 1820, who continued till May, 1823, at which time Benjamin Grafton became their pastor, who resigned in May 1829, and was succeeded by Thomas Conant. The successive pastors after this period were E. Cushman, Horatio N. Foring, Joseph M. Driver, Ira Person, and Abial Harvey, who is the present pastor, and commenced his labors Oct. 12, 1845.

The Fifth Congregational or Robinson Society was formed, as already stated, in 1830. They erected in 1831 a neat house of worship, and engaged Charles J. Warren as their pastor. The present pastor of this church is Aaron Foster.

The First Universalist Society was organized March 10, 1822. Rev. James H. Bugby was ordained Dec. 22d of the same year, and continued till his death, May 10, 1834. Rev. Albert Case was their pastor from 1835 to 1838. In May, 1839, Rev.

Russell Tomlinson became the pastor, which charge he still holds. This society, in 1826, erected a spacious and handsome house of worship, on the north side of Leyden street.

The Christian Church. This church was formed May 30, 1824, and has been with some intervals under the charge of Elders J. V. Himes, O. E. Bryant, T. Cole, G. W. Kelton, L. Baker, J. Goodwin, and John Taylor, their present minister. The society having purchased the house of worship formerly owned by the 3d Cong. Society, on Training Green, the same has been repaired and improved, affording excellent accommodations.

Another church of this denomination was organized at Eel River, (now Chiltonville,) in 1840, consisting of 13 persons, now increased to 60. A neat and convenient house of worship was erected in 1840, principally through the exertions of their first and present minister, Elder Faunce, a descendant of Thomas Faunce, the last ruling Elder of the first church of Plymouth.

Christ's Church. On the 14th day of November, 1844, the parish of Christ's church was duly organized in conformity with the provisions of the Revised Statutes, and the requisite officers were chosen. A church was commenced in Russell street, which was completed and consecrated in October. It is a beautiful structure, in the Gothic style of architecture, combining the advantages of economy and of tasteful execution in an eminent degree. The design was by Richard Upjohn Esq. of New York.

Ponds. The number of ponds in Plymouth is estimated at 200, and the map of Plymouth, by S. Bourne, Esq., contains about 120; a considerable portion of which, would in most other parts of our country, be designated as lakes. They cover, as is generally estimated, 3000 acres in extent. The most attractive of these, are *Bellington Sea*, already described, *South Pond*, four miles from town, abounding with white and red Perch. *Murdoch's Pond* is a quarter of a mile west of the village. *Half-way Pond* is 10 miles southerly. *White Island Pond* is north-westerly of the last named, and covers about 600 acres. *Great Herring Pond* is 15 miles south, on the borders of Sandwich. *Long Pond*, 2 miles in length, 6 miles from town. *Clam Pudding Pond* is 7 miles south on the Sandwich road.

The general features and scenery of these lakes are picturesque and beautiful, affording the most agreeable resorts in summer, for fishing and other amusements.

Hills. *Pinnacle Hill* is near South Pond. *Sentry* and *Indian Hill* are on the sea-shore of Manomet.

Paukopunnakuck is the Indian name of a hill called *Breakheart Hill* by the early planters. It is 10 miles from town, on the formerly travelled Sandwich road. The name was appropriately applied at a period in our early history, when Governors, and other officers of Government, travelled on foot from Cape Cod and back again, in the discharge of their arduous duties to the country.

Monks Hill is a few miles from town, within the bounds of Kingston. It rises 313 feet above the ocean, in the midst of a widely extended forest, and commands a fine view of the ocean and interior. It is called in the Old Colony Records, 'Monts Hill Chase,' a name supposed to have been applied to a hunt in England.*

Mountain Hill is near goose point. *Sparrow's Hill*, 2 miles from town, derives its name from Jonathan Sparrow, who was an early settler and had land assigned him there. He moved to Eastham and died there about 1660.

'Steart's Hill,' so called by the first planters, is directly below the farm now owned by Mr. Barnabas Hedge, on the sea shore, and is supposed to have been named 'from Start's Point, a place near Plymouth in England.' The house of Gov. Prence stood a little south of that occupied by Mr. Hedge, and the place was called Plain Dealing, which name extended, it is believed, to Kingston line. It would seem desirable to revive this ancient name, of a place which was owned at different times by several distinguished men among the first planters.

Brooks. These are five in number, on the north side of the town. Near the 3d brook dwelt Deacon

* The author of 'New England Wars,' whose youthful footsteps so often traversed the woodland scenery of his native hills, has availed himself of this spot as the place of interview between a venerable Puritan, whose daughter had been taken captive by the Indians, and King Philip, the renowned warrior of Pokanoket.

Hirst, in 1640, who there established the first Tannery in Plymouth.

Wellingsly Brook is half a mile south of the town, where Secretary Morton dwelt, and justly claims historical interest, in connection with his valuable labors, in compiling the history of N. England and our early church records, and recording the transactions of the commissioners of the United Colonies.

Eel River, about 3 miles south-east of the town, was so named from the abundant supply of eels it affords. Near it, on both sides the river, was a garrison house during Philip's war. The house which stood near that now owned by the Rev. Mr. Whittemore, was occupied by William Clark, and on Sunday the 12th of March, 1676, it was attacked by the Indians, and eleven persons were killed and several houses burnt. It is worthy of remark, that this was the only serious attack made on Plymouth by the Indians, though it had frequently been threatened during its early history.

Elder Faunce resided on the road leading to Eel River Bridge, and his amiable character and great age, attracted many distinguished visitors on their way to and from the Cape.

Town Records. These were commenced in 1638, at which time no settlement had been made beyond the town limits — and the Old Colony Records contain most of the municipal regulations which were previously adopted. The first entry in the Town Records relates to a division of cattle which had con-

siderably increased from a single heifer, given in 1624 to begin a stock for the poor, by James Shirley. Mr. Shirley was one of the Merchant Adventurers of London, an influential and devoted friend of the Colony, as appears from his correspondence with Gov. Bradford. It would be gratifying to learn more of this early benefactor of Plymouth, than history yet affords. It is also desirable, that the recommendation of Judge Davis, in a note to the Memorial, should be executed by the town in designating some street or square by his name in token of grateful remembrance. The records of the Town are plainly written, and in a good state of preservation.

Expenditures of the Town. The appropriations for the year 1746 were as follows, viz. For Schools, $6,000 — Alms House, including repairs, $1700 — Lunatic Hospital, $300 — Assessors, $250 — Sexton $85 — Treasurer and Collector, $250 — Fire Department, $600 — Discount on Taxes, $400 — Incidental Expenses, $815 — in all, $13,000.

Military. The improved legislation of the State has judiciously reduced the organization of the militia establishment that formerly existed, and the Standish Guards — a company organized in 1820, in honor of Myles Standish — and the Plymouth Artillery Company, compose all the defensive preparation desirable in times of peace.

Fire Department. The fire department consists of four engines; having five organized companies, including the hook and ladder company; the whole

amounting to 120 men. The length of hose is 1,000 feet, to which an addition is intended the present year. The water by which the engines are supplied is obtained from reservoirs placed at different points of the town. The town has heretofore wonderfully escaped any serious conflagration; which in a good degree may be ascribed to the careful and orderly habits of our citizens. The fire department as now organized, has shown much skill and energy, on several occasions within the last three years, when the general safety of the town seemed in great danger.

Banks. These are three in number. The Plymouth Bank, incorporated June 4th, 1804; capital $100,000; President, Nathaniel M. Davis; Cashier, I. N. Stoddard.

Old Colony Bank, incorporated Feb., 1832; capital $100,000; President, John B. Thomas; Cashier, Schuyler Sampson.

Plymouth Institution for Savings; Nathaniel Russell, President; Allen Danforth, Treasurer.

A handsome and commodious brick building was erected a few years since, by all the banks in conjunction; affording them perfectly safe and convenient apartments for their offices.

The Old Colony Insurance Company, having a capital of $50,000, is kept in the same building; Ezra Finney, President; Allen Danforth, Secretary.

Trees. The compact settlement of the central part of Plymouth, has left but little room for the cultivation of ornamental trees. The elms in Town

square, at once appropriate and ornamental, were brought from Portsmouth and set out by the late Thomas Davis, Esq., in the year 1783. The linden trees, so beautiful in summer, in the garden and in front of the dwelling-house now occupied by Abraham Jackson, Esq., in North street, were set out in 1760, by the late George Watson, Esq., having been brought from Nova Scotia.

Those in front of the dwelling-house owned by the heirs of the late Charles Jackson, Esq., were set out not far from 1760, by Miss Penelope Winslow, whose father, Edward Winslow, Esq., built and owned the house, and afterwards removed to the British Provinces.

The elms at the residence of John Russell, Esq., were set out by the late Samuel Jackson, in 1790. Those standing in the front yard of Nathaniel M. Davis, Esq , were set out in 1783, by the late William Watson, Esq. ; and two in Court Square, by the late Capt. James Nickerson, in 1792.

Sunday School. This valuable auxiliary to the instructions of the Pulpit, is now connected with all the Churches in town, and the number of children receiving the benefit of their teaching is probably more than 900. The Sabbath day is still regarded with veneration by our citizens, and though relieved from something of the gloom connected with its observance in former times, is rarely violated in a manner, disturbing the church-going habits of our population.

Temperance. This subject excited early attention, and in 1816, an able report of a committee, appointed by the town, appears on the records, suggesting various methods to check the progress of intemperance. Those who have labored in this cause, may justly rejoice in the fruit of their persevering efforts. Many have been redeemed from the dominion of the most inveterate habits of intemperance, which long seemed incorrigible, and now rejoice with joy unspeakable, in the renovation of a new life.

So far as this cause depends on associated action, it is under the direction of the Sons of Temperance the Washingtonian, and the Martha Washington Societies. Six years ago, spirituous liquors were publicly sold in more than 20 shops in this town, and at the present time not in one.

Cemetery. Oak Grove Cemetery is situated to the west of the village about 3-4 of a mile from the Court House. It contains 16 acres; possesses much natural beauty, and is appropriately laid out with avenues and walks. The corporation was organized May 15, 1841. The grove was consecrated Sept. 12th, with religious services and address. About 100 lots have been sold, many of which have been improved and ornamented.

I. N. Stoddard, President; Gustavus Gilbert, Secretary; John Perkins, Treasurer.

Old Colony Rail Road. The completion of this great enterprise, and the opening of the road,

occurred on Saturday, the 8th of November, 1845. On this occasion the citizens of Plymouth provided a collation in Pilgrim Hall, which was served to a company of about 500 individuals, from Boston and other parts of the State. The Hon. Nathaniel M. Davis presided over the highly respectable assembly, and the festivities of the short, but exciting occasion, passed off to the great satisfaction of all concerned. Addresses of an interesting character, connected with the progress of improvements in our country, were made by the Hon. John Quincy Adams, Hon. Daniel Webster, and other gentlemen present.

This road has been well patronized by the public, particularly during the past summer, and while it affords a convenience to the traveler, forms a safe investment of capital. The distances from Boston, on the road, are as follows — Dorchester, 4 miles; Neponset, 5 1-2; Quincy, 8; N. Braintree, 10; S. Braintree, 11; S. Weymouth, 15; N. Abington, 18; Abington, 19 1-4; S. Abington, 21; N. Hanson, 23 1-4; Hanson, 24 3-4; Halifax, 28; Plympton, 30; Kingston, 33 1-4; Plymouth, 37 1-2 miles.

The cars are constructed on the most approved model and under the care of obliging and vigilant conductors it is gratifying to remark, that no serious accidents have occurred which may justly be ascribed to any deficiency on their part, or that of the proprietors of the road.

Hotels. The Samoset Hotel, erected by the Rail Road proprietors, occupies a most favorable situation

at the end of Court street, directly opposite the depot. It commands a fine view of the harbor, bay, and surrounding highlands. In the rear, at a short distance, it has the attractions of hill and woodland scenery, affording agreeable and convenient walks. It is 50 by 80 feet, constructed in a handsome style of architecture, and of perfect finish in every part. The sleeping apartments are pleasantly situated, and well contrived and furnished in every respect, to promote the comfort of visitors.

The construction of the hotel is such, that the means of cold, warm, and shower baths, are at any time afforded, when required. The advantage of sea bathing close at hand, is another attraction in summer, which many from the metropolis have perceived and enjoyed during the last season.

Mr. Joseph Stetson has the charge of this establishment, whose long experience and obliging deportment, eminently fit him to promote the comfort of the traveler.

This establishment has been well pratronized by the traveling community from nearly every part of the Union, during the past summer, and we learn that in all the varied requisites, which constitute the comfort of visitors, it is unsurpassed by any other in the country.

Newspapers. 'The Plymouth Journal,' edited and printed by N. Coverly, was commenced in March, 1785, and continued till June, 1786. It was published too near the metropolis, to find sufficient

encouragement to justify its continuance, particularly at that period of individual embarrassments. The Old Colony arms, four men kneeling, implumed hearts in their hands, on a field quarterly, was its head ornament; legend, Plymouth, Novanglia, sigil lum societatis, 1620. The motto (selected by Rev. Dr. Robbins,) was, Patrum pietate ortum filioram virtute servandum.

The Old Colony Memorial was commenced in 1821, and has been well sustained by our community. The Plymouth Rock, another newspaper, was established about eight years ago.

Indian Names. The sources of information respecting the *signification* of Indian names, are quite limited. Those in relation to the Colony are mostly derived from the investigations of the late Samuel Davis, Esq. Accomac, Plymouth, or *Accaumuck*, signifies to go by water, and is applied to places where it is more convenient to go by water than land. *Cantaugeanteest*, Watson's Hill. *Patackosi*, the name of Town Brook, from *Tackosi*, 'short, narrow.' *Coatuit*, the name of half way pond. *Agawam*, a part of Wareham. *Kitaumet*, Manomet Ponds. *Cummaquid*, Barnstable. *Paumit*, or Pamet, part of Truro. *Mattakeese* or Mattachiest, Yarmouth. *Mattakeset*, Duxbury. *Nauset*, Eastham. *Namasket*, Middleborough. *Monamoy*, Chatham. *Capawack*, Martha's Vineyard. *Manamooskegin*, Abington. *Shaume*, Sandwich. *Satuit*, Scituate.

EXPLANATION OF THE ENGRAVINGS.

The engravings contained in this work have all been executed on copper. The view of Plymouth was taken on an elevation, south of Wellingsly brook about one and a half miles from town, on a scale corresponding with the size of the book, and embraces the beach, harbor, Captain's hill, &c.

The Allyne house was taken from the life of James Otis, by William Tudor, Esq. This house, as remarked by Mr. Tudor, shows the style of building of respectable families in the latter part of the seventeenth century. It was taken down in 1826, and the Universalist church in Leyden Street now occupies the spot on which it stood. It was occupied by Robert Hicks, merchant, in 1645. It was afterwards owned by Edward Gray, who sold it to John Rickard in 1677, and was owned by Rickard till 1750, when it became the property of the Lothrop family, since which time it has always been called the Lothrop House — and was considered the oldest in town.

In this house the mother of James Otis was born. From the Plymouth records it appears, 'that in 1699 Mr. Joseph Allyn, who afterwards moved to Connecticut, married Mary Doten, daughter of Edward, and grand-daughter of Edward Doten, who came in the Mayflower. Their children born in this house, were Elizabeth in 1700, Mary in 1702, the latter of whom was the mother of James Otis and a very superior woman. Mr. Otis lived in Plymouth in 1748 and 1749, and his name appears on the Court Records as 'of Plymouth.' His office was in the Main street, the north part of the house now occupied by Mrs. Grace H. Goddard.

The Fuller Cradle, of which the engraving is a perfect copy, according to well authenticated tradition came in the Mayflower, and is now in possession of Jacob Noyes, Esq. of Abington, whose wife, Mrs. Olive Noyes, was the daughter of Reliance Fuller, the daughter of Isaac Fuller, the son of Dr. Isaac Fuller of Middleborough, who was son to Samuel Fuller, the first minister of that place and the son of Dr. Samuel Fuller who arrived in the Mayflower.

As an evidence of the mutual accommodation afforded on board the Mayflower, the tradition in connection with the cradle still exists in the Fuller family, that Peregrine White received the benefit of its spacious accommodations.

The Apple Tree, accurately represented in the engraving, was planted by Peregrine White, the first Englishman born in New England, about the year 1648, when he was 28 years of age. Dr. Holmes in his annals, when noticing his death, which occurred in 1704, in the 84th year of his age, observes, that 'ninety years afterwards a gentleman sent several large apples to Pres. Styles, from an orchard planted by Peregrine White. Thirty years still later, (1824.) Mrs. Hayward, (wife of Dr. Hayward,) 'a descendant of Peregrine White, sent me a fair apple from a tree planted by her ancestor.' The writer received a few weeks since, several apples from the same tree. It measures 17 feet in height, and the old trunk now mostly decayed is six feet in length, having a circumference of four and a half feet.

The fac-similes of the autographs of the Pilgrims, have been obtained expressly for this work, after much labor among ancient deeds and other documents. Their names are as follows: Gov. William Bradford, Gov. Edward Winslow, Gov. Thomas Prince, Capt. Myles Standish, William Brewster, Isaac Allerton, Nathaniel Morton, John Bradford, son of Gov. Bradford by his first wife, Dorothy May, John Winslow, brother of Gov. Edward Winslow, Thomas Cushman, (Elder,) son of Robert Cushman, Constant and Thomas Southworth, the sons of Alice Southworth, the second wife of Gov. Bradford. The autographs of John Alden, John Howland, Francis Eaton, and Phineas Pratt have been obtained, but not in season for this work. Persons having in their possession

ancient deeds or other documents which contain the original signatures of any who came to Plymouth in either of the three first ships, namely, the Mayflower, Fortune, or Ann, will confer a favor by forwarding them to the writer, by mail or otherwise, which will be returned to the owners or deposited in the Cabinet of the Pilgrim Society, agreeably to their wishes.

Plymouth, October, 1846.

AIRS OF THE PILGRIMS.

PREFACE.

The following collection of Hymns and Songs, selected from the productions of our best authors, were mostly composed with express reference to the anniversary celebrations in this town and in other parts of the United States. Several of these have never before been published, others have had quite a limited circulation, and some of the more ancient of them seemed in danger of actual oblivion, copies of which were obtained, not without considerable difficulty, by the aid of obliging friends and correspondents.

The music to which they were originally sung has been retained, so far as it was known, and appropriate tunes have been obligingly annexed, by B. Brown, Esq. to such as had none previously designated.

The order of time in which the different pieces were composed has been generally preserved, so far as was practicable, and the collection might have been enlarged by the addition of many valuable compositions, necessarily excluded by the narrow limits prescribed to the present work.

The highly valuable religious and moral influences produced on the human mind, through the combined instrumentality of music and poetry, are universally acknowledged, and the compilation is presented to the public with an earnest desire to promote these great objects, and at the same time to afford a variety of appropriate compositions, adapted to use, whenever the descendants of the Pilgrims may assemble, to honor the memory of their Fathers.

W. S. R.

Plymouth, November, 1846.

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AIRS OF THE PILGRIMS.

OUR FOREFATHERS' SONG.*

THE HARDSHIPS AND FARE OF THE FIRST PLANTERS IN NEW ENGLAND.

Repeated by an old lady, aged 94 years, in 1767.

New England's annoyances you that would know them,
Pray ponder these verses, which briefly do show them.

The place where we live, is a wilderness wood,
Where grass is much wanted that 's fruitful and good;
Our mountains and hills, and our valleys below,
Are commonly covered with frost and with snow;

And when the north-west wind with violence blows,
Then every man pulls his cap over his nose.
But if any 's so hardy, and will it withstand,
He forfeits a finger, a foot, or a hand.

Whene'er the spring opens, we then take the hoe,
And make the ground ready to plant and to sow,
Our corn being planted, and seed being sown,
The worms then destroy much before it is grown.

* A musical friend informs us that these popular lines would find appropriate music in the old tune of *Derry Down*.

And when it is growing, some spoil there is made,
By birds and by squirrels who pluck up the blade;
Even when it is grown to full corn in the ear,
It is often destroyed by raccoon and deer.

And now, too, our garments begin to grow thin,
And wool is much wanted to card and to spin;
If we *can* get garments to cover *without*,
Our other *in*-garments are * clout upon clout.

Our clothes we brought with us, are apt to be torn,
They need to be clouted soon after they are worn;
But clouting our garments they hinder us nothing,
Clouts double are warmer than single whole clothing.

If fresh meat be wanting to fill up our dish,
We have carrots and turnips whenever we wish,
And if we've a mind for a delicate dish,
We go to the clam bank, and *there* we catch fish.

For pottage, and puddings, and custards, and pies,
Our pumpkins, and parsnips, are common supplies;
We have pumpkin at morning, and pumpkin at noon,
If it was not for pumpkin we should be undoon.†

If barley be wanting to make into malt,
We must be contented and think it no fault;
For we can make liquor to sweeten our lips,
Of pumpkins, and parsnips, and walnut-tree chips.

Now, while some are going, let others be coming,
While liquor is boiling it must have a scumming;
But I will not blame them, for birds of a feather,
By seeking their fellows, are flocking together.

Then you, whom the Lord intends hither to bring,
Forsake not the honey for fear of the sting;
But bring both a quiet and well ordered mind,
And all needful blessings you surely will find.

* Clout signifies patching. † As they then pronounced *undone*.

The following letter directed to the late Ephraim Spooner, Esq. explains the history of the above song:

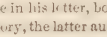
CAMBRIDGE, Dec. 15th, 1817.

Dear and very respected Sir,

I here send you a curiosity, which I hope and believe will gratify your friends and townsmen at their approaching Anniversary of the landing of our Forefathers. It is a poetical description of the *landing* of our Progenitors soon after they landed on your renowned shore. Who the author was I know not: nor do I *when* it was written; neither have I been informed who the old lady was who repeated these verses in 1767, when 94 years of age. To me it is probable that they were taken down from her mouth, like the ancient poems of Ossian, in Scotland. This paper was given to me by the late Madame Bowdoin, the worthy wife of my excellent and intimate friend Gov. Bowdoin. I send them to *you* as a pleasant relic, not merely because I regard you as the Father of the town where you reside, but as a mark of that respectful and steady friendship, so long existing between you and your kinsman,

BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE.

NOTE. In the eighth volume of the Mass. Hist. Society, page twenty-nine, 2d Series, published in 1838, the Forefathers' Song may be found, with slight variations from the above copy. In order to adapt it to music, a very few verbal alterations have been made, without, however, impairing its sense or force. The original, forwarded by Dr. Waterhouse, as mentioned in his letter, varies as much from that published by the Historical Society, as ours does from either. It was published originally in stanzas of eight lines, which have been separated into those of four lines, for the greater convenience of singing. We copy the following remarks, which accompanied the song as published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, viz. ('Composed about the year 1630, author unknown, *taken memoriter, in 1785, from the lips of an old lady, at the advanced period of 96. There is visibly a break in the sense, commencing at the 5th line of the 5th verse:* and, through the failure of memory, four lines have been lost, at the latter part of the 5th stanza.') There being some variation between the statement of facts respecting this song as contained in the Mass. Hist. Collections, and that of Dr. Waterhouse in his letter, both as to the age of the old lady, and the time when she repeated it from memory, the latter authority seems to have the preference.



'A WORD TO BOSTON.'

BY GOVERNOUR WILLIAM BRADFORD.

In the third volume of the *Collections*, first series, was published, a 'descriptive and historical account of New England, in verse,' by Gov. Bradford, of which Dr. Belknap remarks, 'if it be not graced with the charms of poetry, yet it is a just and affecting narrative, intermixed with pious and useful reflections. Of a like strain are the lines that follow, and as, from the reference to them in the Governor's will, of which we subjoin an extract, they were by him commended to preservation, we rescue them from the original manuscript, where for more than one hundred and sixty years they have remained in obscurity.

'I commend unto your wisdom and discretion, some small books written by my own hand, to be improved as you shall see meet. In special I commend to you a little booke, with a black cover, wherein there is a word to Plymouth, a word to Boston, and a word to New England: with sundry useful verses.' 'The will was witnessed by Thomas Cushman, Thomas Southworth, and Nathaniel Morton.'

OF BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND.

O, Boston, though thou now art grown,
To be a great and wealthy town,
Yet I have seen the a void place,
Shrubs and bushes covering thy face;
And house then in thee none were there,
Nor such as gold and silk did weare;
No drunkeness were then in thee,
Nor such excess as now we see.
We then drunk freely of thy spring,
Without paying of any thing;
We lodged freely where we would,
All things were free and nothing sold;
And they that did thee first begin,
Had hearts as free and as willing
Their poor friends for to entertaine,
And never looked at sordid gain.
Some thou hast had whom I did know,
That spent theirselves to make the grow,
And thy foundations they did lay,
Which doe remain unto this day
When thou wast weak they did thee nurse,
Or else with thee it had been worse;
They left thee not, but did defend,
And succor thee unto their end.

Thou now hast growne in wealth and store,
Doe not forget that thou wast poore,
And lift not up thyself in pride,
From truth and justice turn not aside,
Remember thou a Cotton had,
Which made the hearts of many glad;
What he thee taught bear thou in minde,
It's hard another such to finde.
A Winthrop once in the was knowne,
Who unto thee was as a crowne.

Such ornaments are very rare,
Yet thou enjoyed this blessed pair.
But these are gone, their work is done,
Their day is past, set is their sun:
Yet faithful Wilson still remains,
And learned Norton doth take pains:
Live ye in peace. I could say more.
Oppress ye not the weake and poore.
The trade is all in your own hand,
Take heed ye doe not wrong the land,
Lest He that hath lift you on high,
When, as the poore to him doe cry,
Doe throw you downe from your high state,
And make you low and desolate.

NOTE. The Words to Plymouth, Boston, and New England, were probably written a short time previous to Gov. Bradford's decease, as allusion is made in them to Gov. Winthrop, who died March 26th, 1649, and Cotton, who died Dec. 23d, 1652.

—◇—

A WORD TO NEW ENGLAND.

O New England, thou canst not boast;
Thy former glory thou hast lost.
When Hooker, Winthrop, Cotton died,
And many precious ones beside,
Thy beauty then it did decay,
And still doth languish more away;
Love, truth, good-men, mercy and grace,
And wealth and the world take their place.
Thy open sins none can them hide
Fraud, drunkeness, whoredom and pride.
The great oppressors slay the poore,
But whimsie errors they kill more.
Yet some thou hast who mourne and weep,
And their garments they unspotted keep;

Who seek God's honour to maintaine,
That true Religion may remaine.
These doe invite and sweetly call,
Each to other, and say to all,
Repent, amend, and turn to God,
That we may prevent his sharp rod.
Time yet thou hast, improve it well
That God's presence may with you dwell.

THE FOLLOWING IS A POETICAL DESCRIPTION OF

THE TREES IN NEW ENGLAND,

WRITTEN IN 1639.

Trees, both in hills and plains, in plenty be,
The long-liv'd Oak, and mournful Cyprus tree;
Sky-towering Pines, and Chestnuts coated rough,
The lasting Cedar, with the Walnut tough;
The rosin dropping Fir for masts in use,
The boatmen seek for oars, light, neat grown Spruce;
The brittle Ash, the ever trembling Asps,
The broad spread Elm, whose concave harbours wasps;
The water-spungy Alder, good for nought,
Small Eldern, by the Indian fletchers sought;
The knotty Maple, palled Birch, Hawthorns,
The horn-bound tree that to be cloven scorns,
Which from the tender vine oft takes his spouse,
Who twines embracing arms about his boughs.
Within this Indian orchard fruits be some,
The ruddy Cherry, and the jetty Plum;
Snake murthering Hazel, with sweet Saxaphrage,
Whose spurs in beer allays hot fevers rage;
The dear Shumach, with more trees there be
That are both good to use, and rare to see.

THE VARIOUS KINDS OF FISH

TO BE FOUND ON THE COAST OF NEW ENGLAND,

POETICALLY DESCRIBED IN 1639.

The king of waters, the sea shouldering Whale,
The snuffing Grampus, with the oily Seal;
The storm presaging Porpus, Herring-Hog,
Line shearing Shark, the Catfish and Sea Dog,
The scale-fenced Sturgeon, wry-mouthed Hallibut,
The flouncing Salmon, Codfish, Greedigut;
Cole, Haddick, Hake, the Thornback and the Skate,
Whose slimy outside makes him seld' in date;
The stately Bass, old Neptune's fleeting post,
That tides it out and in from sea to coast;
Consorting Herrings and the bony Shad,
Big bellied Alewives, Mackerels richly clad,
With rainbow colour, the Frostfish and the Smelt,
As good as lady Gustus ever felt;
The spotted Lamprons, Eels, the Lamperies,
That seek fresh-water brooks with Argus eyes;
These watery villagers, with thousands more,
Do pass and repass the verdant shore.

KINDS OF SHELL-FISH.

The luscious Lobster, with the Crab-fish raw,
The brinish Oyster, Muscle, Perriwig,
And Tortoise sought by the Indian's squaw,
Which to the flats dance many a winter's jig,
To dive for Cockles, and to dig for clams,
Whereby her lazy husband's sides she crams.

A POETICAL DESCRIPTION OF BIRDS.

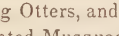
WRITTEN IN 1639.

The princely Eagle and the soaring Hawk,
Whom in their unknown ways there's none can chalk;
The Humbird, for some Queens rich cage more fit,
Than in the vacant wilderness to sit;
The swift wing'd Swallow sweeping to and fro,
As swift as arrow from Tartarian bow;
When as Aurora's infant day new springs,
There th' morn mounting Lark her sweet lays sings;
The harmonious Trush, swift Pigeon, Turtle Dove,
Who to her mate does ever constant prove;
The Turkey-Pheasant, Heathcock, Partridge rare,
The carrion tearing Crow, and hurtful Stare;
The long liv'd Raven, th' ominous Screech-Owl,
Who tells, as old wives say, disasters foul;
The drowsy Madge, that leaves her day-loved nest,
And loves to rove when day-birds be at rest,
The eel-murthering Hearne, and greedy Cormorant,
That near the creeks in morish marshes haunt;
The bellowing Bitterne, with the long-leged Crane;
Presaging winters hard, and dearth of grain;
The silver Swan that tunes her mournful breath,
To sing the dirge of her approaching death;
The tattling Oldwives, and the cackling Geese,
The fearful Gull that shuns the murthering piece,
The strong-winged Mallard, with the nimble Teal,
And ill-shaped Loon, who his harsh notes doth squeal;
There Widgins, Sheldrakes, and Humilitees,
Snipes, Dippers, Sea Larks, in whole millions flee.

A DESCRIPTION OF BEASTS IN NEW ENGLAND.

WRITTEN IN 1639.

The kingly Lion, and the strong-armed Bear,
The large limb'd Mooses, with the tripping Deer;
Quill-darting Porcupines, and Raccoons be,
Castel'd in the hollow of an aged tree;
The skipping Squirrel, Rabbit, purblind Hare,
Immured in the self same castle are,
Lest red-eyed Ferret, wily Foxes should
Them undermine, if rampir'd but with mould;
The grim-faced Ounce, and ravenous howling Woolf,
Whose meagre maw sucks like a swallowing gulf;
Black glistering Otters, and rich coated Beaver,
The Civet scented Musquash smelling ever.



WHALING SONG.

BY JOHN OSBORNE OF SANDWICH, BARNSTABLE COUNTY.*

TUNE, *Old Lang Syne.*

When Spring returns with western gales,
And gentle breezes sweep
The ruffling seas, we spread our sails
To plow the wat'ry deep.

* John Osborne was born 1713, in Sandwich, Barnstable County, and was graduated at Harvard University, 1735. After leaving college, he spent some time at his father's house in Eastham, where he paid some attention to divinity. He afterwards became a physician, and removed to Middletown, Connecticut. He married about this time. In the year 1753, he wrote to his sister Sarah, the wife of Ephraim Morton, then living in Plymouth, in which he says, 'We have six children; the eldest fourteen years old last November, the youngest, two years last January; the eldest a daughter, the next a son, and so on to the end of the chapter.' He died May 31, 1753, aged 40. His father, Rev. Samuel Osborne, was a native of Ireland and a graduate of Dublin University. He was settled at Eastham, Sept. 18, 1718, and was dismissed in 1738, on account of some difference with his church respecting theological

For killing northern whales prepared,
Our nimble boats on board,
With craft and rum, (our chief regard) *
And good provision stor'd.

Cape-Cod, our dearest native land
We leave astern, and lose
Its sinking cliffs and lessning sands,
While zephyr gently blows.

Bold, hardy men, with blooming age,
Our sandy shores produce;
With monstrous fish they dare engage,
And dangerous callings choose.

Now towards the early dawning east,
We speed our course away,
With eager minds, and joyful hearts,
To meet the rising day.

Then as we turn our wond'ring eyes,
We view one constant show;
Above, around, the circling skies;
The rolling seas blow.

points, and afterwards removed to Boston, where he opened a private grammar school, which he continued for several years, and died, aged about 90.

See Eliot's and Allen's Biographical Dictionaries, and Pratt's History of Eastham.

In a biographical sketch of the author, by Judge Davis, published in the Columbian Centinel, Boston, March 21st, 1787, the Whaling Song is thus noticed: 'He certainly possessed a fine poetical genius, which appears from his Whaling Song, which has been highly celebrated, and which no whaleman ever sings or speaks of without rapture. He also wrote a pathetic elgiack epistle, addressed to one sister on the death of another.'

* The expressions included in parentheses may, at first sight, excite surprise in the minds of many in this day of Temperance reform; but when we consider the age in which the song was written, and that the author, in rather a jocose vein, intended to represent a common practice then prevailing in the community, we need not infer that he meant to celebrate as a subject of praise, what is now so generally and justly condemned. From recent information, we are assured, that many ships in Nantucket and New Bedford commence and pursue their long and arduous voyages, without the use of spirituous liquors in any form, which were once considered an indispensable item of outfit, and which so often proved the source of injury and disaster to all concerned in maritime pursuits.

When eastward, clear of Newfoundland,
We stem the frozen pole,
We see the icy islands stand,
The northern billows roll.

As to the north we make our way,
Surprising scenes we find;
We lengthen out the tedious day,
And leave the night behind.

Now see the northern regions, where
Eternal winter reigns;
One day and night fills up the year,
And endless cold maintains.

We view the monsters of the deep,
Great whales in num'rous swarms;
And creatures there, that play and leap,
Of strange unusual forms.

When we our wonted station gain,
And whales around us play;
We launch our boats into the main,
And swiftly chace our prey.

In haste we ply our nimble oars,
For an assault designed:
The sea beneath us foams and roars,
And leaves a wake behind.

A mighty whale we rush upon,
And in our irons throw:
She sinks her monstrous body down,
Among the waves below.

And when she rises out again,
We soon renew the fight;
Thrust our sharp lances in amain,
And all her rage excite.

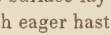
Enraged she makes a mighty bound:
Thick foams the whiten'd sea;
The waves in circles rise around,
And wid'ning roll away.

She thrashes with her tail around,
And blows her red'ning breath;
She breaks the air, a deaf'ning sound,
While ocean groans beneath.

From num'rous wounds, with crimson flood,
She stains the frothy seas,
And grasps and blows her latest blood
While quiv'ring life decays.

With joyful hearts we see her die,
And on the surface lay;
While all with eager haste apply
To save our breathless prey.

When in the hold we her secure,
And place our bone and oil;
In cans of punch, our sov'reign cure,
We drown all care and toil.



A SONG NOW MUCH IN VOGUE IN NORTH AMERICA, SOMETIMES CALLED

THE LIBERTY SONG.

BY JOHN DICKINSON, JULY 6TH, 1768.

Sung at the FIRST Celebration of the Landing of the Forefathers at Plymouth, Dec. 22d, 1769, by the O. Colony Club.

TUNE, *Hearts of Oak.*

Come, join hand and hand brave Americans all,
And rouse your bold hearts at fair *Liberty's* call;

No *tyranous acts* shall suppress your *just claim*,
Or stain with *dishonor* AMERICA's name.

CHORUS.

In FREEDOM we 're born, and in Freedom we 'll live;
Our purses are ready,
Steady, friends, steady,
Not as SLAVES, but as FREEMEN, our money we 'll give.

Our worthy *Forefathers* — let 's give 'em a cheer —
To *climates unknown* did courageously steer;
Through *oceans* to *deserts* for *freedom* they came,
And dying, bequeathed us their *freedom* and *fame*.

CHORUS.

Their generous bosoms all danger despised,
So *highly*, so *wisely*, their *birthright* they prized;
We 'll keep what they gave, — we will piously keep,
Nor frustrate their toils on the land or the deep.

CHORUS.

The *Tree* their own hands had to liberty reared,
They lived to behold growing strong and rever'd;
With transport they cried, ' Now our wishes we gain,
For our children shall gather the fruits of our pain.'

CHORUS.

How *sweet* are the labors that Freemen endure,
That they shall enjoy all the profits secure.
No more such sweet labors *Americans* know,
If *Britons* shall reap what *Americans* sow.

CHORUS.

Swarms of *placemen* * and *pensioners* soon will appear,
Like locusts deforming the charms of the year;

* The ministry have already begun to give away in *pensions*, the *money* they lately took out of our pockets, *without our consent*.

Suns vainly will rise, showers vainly descend,
If we are to *drudge* for what *others* shall *spend*.

CHORUS.

Then join hand in hand, brave Americans all;
By *uniting* we stand, by *dividing*, we fall;
In so righteous a cause let us hope to succeed,
For Heaven approves of each generous deed.

CHORUS.

All ages shall speak with *amaze* and *applause*,
Of the *courage* we 'll show *in support of our laws;*
To *die* we can *bear*, but to *serve* we *disdain;*
For *shame* is to *Freemen* more dreadful than *pain*.

CHORUS.

This bumper I crown for our *Sovereign's* health,
And this for *Britannia's* glory and wealth;
That wealth and that glory immortal may be,
If she is but *just*, and we are but *free*.

CHORUS.

NOTE. The following letter, enclosing the song, was directed to James Otis, at a period of deep revolutionary interest, and may be found in Tudor's life of that distinguished statesman and patriot. The song was recently discovered among the papers of the late Benjamin M. Watson, Esq. of this town, copied by him, with a memo. appended, stating it to have been sung at the *first* public celebration of the anniversary, by the O. C. Club, Dec. 22d, 1769. The reader will perceive from the circumstances connected with the composition of this song, and its use by the O. Colony Club, how intimately the spirit and history of the Pilgrims were blended with the feelings and principles developed in the earlier stages of our Revolutionary contest; and how naturally the struggles, privations and hardships of the first comers, in 1620, formed the school of preparation for Independence in 1776.

PHILADELPHIA, July 4th, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I enclose you a song for American freedom. I have long since renounced Poetry. But as indifferent songs are frequently very powerful on certain occasions, I venture to invoke the deserted muses. I hope that my good intentions will procure pardon with those I wish to please, for the boldness of my numbers.

My worthy friend, Dr. Arthur Lee, a gentleman of distinguished family, abilities and patriotism, in Virginia, composed eight lines of it.

Cardinal de Retz always enforced his political operations by songs.

I wish our attempt may be useful. I shall be glad to hear from you, if you have a moment's leisure to scribble a line to, dear Sir, your most affectionate, most obedient servant

JOHN DICKINSON.

SONG.

BY ALEXANDER SCAMMEL.

Sung at the Celebration, by the Old Colony Club, in 1770.

TUNE, *British Hero.*

All hail the day that ushers in,
The period of revolving time,
In which our sires of glorious fame,
Bravely through toils and dangers came,

Novanglia's wilds to civilize,
And wild disorder harmonize,
To plant Britannia's Arts and Arms,
Plenty, peace, freedom, pleasing charms,

Derived from British rights and laws,
That justly merit our applause,
Darlings of Heaven, heroes brave,
You still shall live though in the grave.

Live, live, within each grateful breast,
With reverence for your names possessed;
Your praises on our Tongues shall dwell,
And sires to sons your actions tell.

To distant poles their praise resound,
Let virtue be with glory crowned,
Ye dreary wilds, each rock and cave,
Echo the virtues of the brave.

They nobly braved their indigence,
Death, famine, sword, and pestilence,
Each toil, each danger they endured,
Til for their sons they had procured,

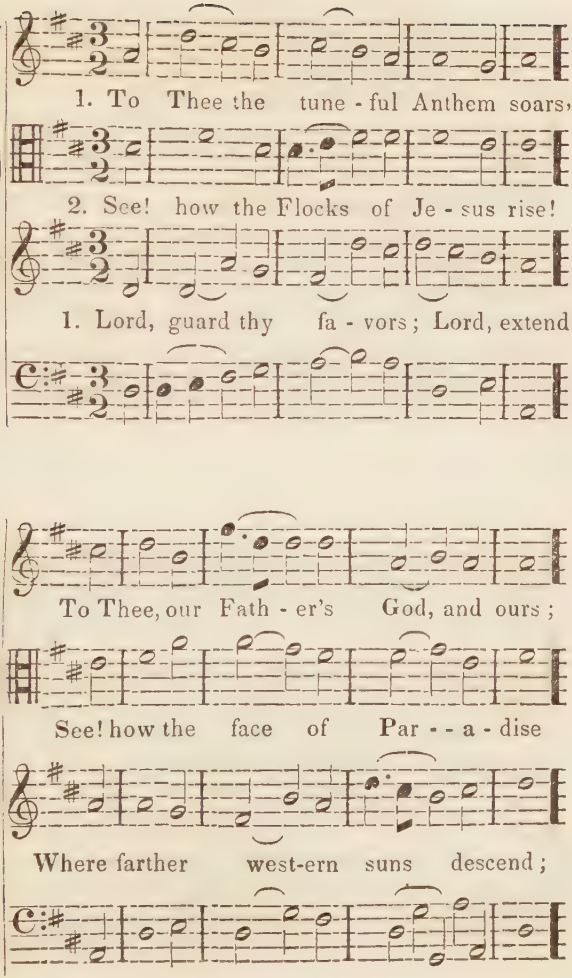
A fertile soil, profusely blest
With Nature's stores, and now possessed
By sons who gratefully revere,
Our Fathers' names and memories dear,

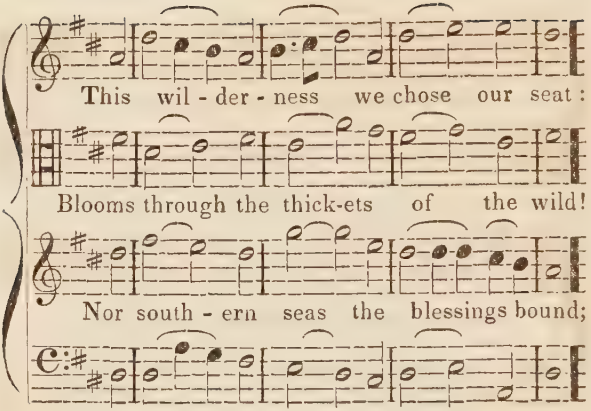
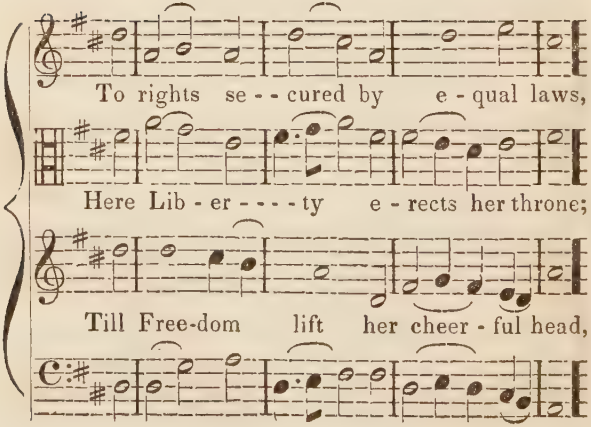
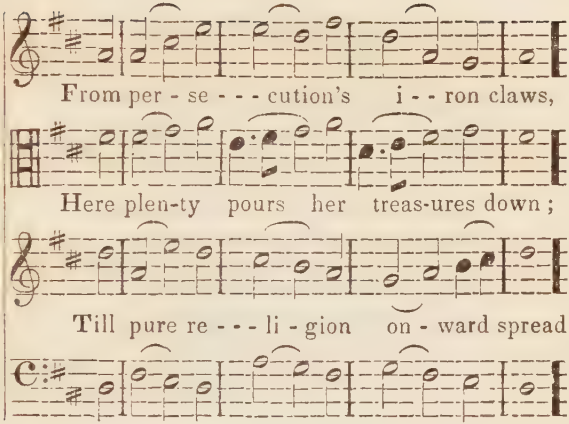
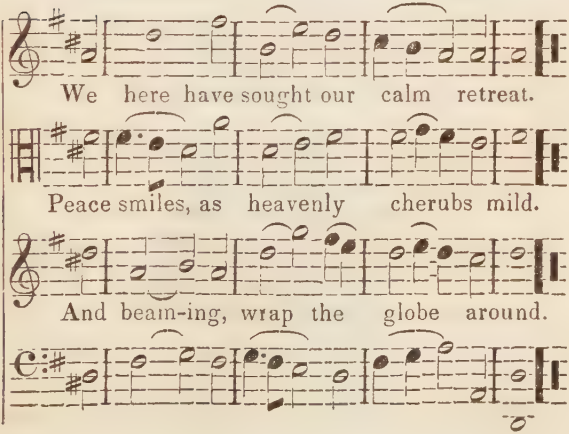
Plymouth the great Mausoleum,
Famous for our Forefathers Tomb,
Join, join the chorus one and all,
Resound their deeds, in Colony Hall.

NEW ENGLAND HYMN.

BY THE REV. DR. MARTHER BYLES.

Adapted to the Tune America, as published in Billing's 'Collection of Music.' 1770.

To Thee the tuneful Anthem Soars,
To thee, our Father's God, and our's;
This wilderness we chose our Seat:
To Rights Secured by Equal Laws
From Persecution's Iron Claws,
We here have sought our calm Retreat.

1. To Thee the tune - ful Anthem soars,
2. See! how the Flocks of Je - sus rise!
1. Lord, guard thy fa - vors; Lord, extend
To Thee, our Fath - er's God, and ours;
See! how the face of Par - - a - dise
Where farther west-ern suns descend;


This wil - der - ness we chose our seat:
Blooms through the thick-ets of the wild!
Nor south - ern seas the blessings bound;

To rights se - - cured by e - qual laws,
Here Lib - er - - - - ty e - rects her throne;
Till Free-dom lift her cheer - ful head,

From per - se - - - cution's i - - ron claws,
Here plen-ty pours her treas-ures down;
Till pure re - - - li - gion on - ward spread

We here have sought our calm retreat.
Peace smiles, as heavenly cherubs mild.
And beam-ing, wrap the globe around.

See! how the Flocks of Jesus rise!
See! how the Face of Paradise
Blooms through the Thickets of the Wild!
Here Liberty erects her Throne;
Here Plenty pours her Treasures down;
Peace smiles, as Heavenly Cherubs mild.

Lord, guard thy Favors; Lord, extend
Where farther Western Suns descend;
Nor Southern Seas the blessings bound;
Till Freedom lift her chearful Head,
Till pure Religion onward spread,
And beaming, wrap the Globe around.

—◇—

ODE FOR THE 22d DECEMBER.

BY HON. JOHN DAVIS.

Composed for the Anniversary Festival, 1792.

TUNE—*America.**

Sons of renowned sires
Join in harmonious choirs
Swell your loud songs;
Daughters of peerless dames,
Come with your mild acclaims,
Let their revered names,
Dwell on your tongues.

* This Ode was originally sung to the tune of 'God save the King,' and the same air will be recognized in the one above annexed.

From frowning albion's seat,
See the famed band retreat,
On ocean tost;
Blue tumbling billows roar,
By keel scarce ploughed before,
And bear them to this shore,
Fettered with frost.

By yon wave beaten rock
See the illustrious flock,
Collected stand;
To seek some sheltering grove,
Their faithful partners move,
Dear pledges of their love,
In either hand.

Not winter's sullen face,
Not the fierce tawny race
In arms arrayed;
Not hunger shook their faith,
Not sickness' baleful breath,
Nor Carver's early death
Their souls dismayed.

Watered by heavenly dew,
The Germ of Empire grew,
Freedom its root;
From the cold northern pine,
Far Tow'rd the burning line,
Spreads the luxuriant vine,
Bending with fruit.

Columbia, child of heaven,
The best of blessings given,
Be thine to greet;

Hailing this votive day,
Looking with fond survey,
Upon the weary way,
Of Pilgrim feet.

Here trace the moss-grown stones,
Where rest their mould'ring bones,
Again to rise;
And let thy sons be led,
To emulate the dead,
While o'er their tombs they tread
With moisten'd eyes.

NOTE. This copy has received the revisal of the venerable author of the composition, and is entirely conformable to the original, excepting in the fifth verse, in which a variation has been recently introduced by him.

HYMN FOR THE 22D OF DECEMBER, 1799.

TUNE, *Old Hundred.*

Hail, Pilgrim Fathers of our race!
With grateful hearts your toils we trace;
Again this *Votive Day* returns,
And finds us bending o'er your urns.

Jehovah's arm prepared the road;
The *Heathen* vanish'd at his nod:
He gave his *Vine* a lasting root;
He loads his goodly boughs with fruit.

The hills are cover'd with its shade;
Its thousand shoots like cedars spread;

Its branches to the sea expand,
And reach to broad *Superior's* strand.

Of peace and truth the gladsome ray
Smiles in our skies and cheers the day;
And a new Empire's splendent wheels,
Roll o'er the top of western hills.

Hail, Pilgrim Fathers of our race!
With grateful hearts your toils we trace;
Oft as this *Votive Day* returns,
We'll pay due honors to your urns.

HYMN FOR THE 22d OF DECEMBER.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

TUNE, *Ferry.*

When o'er the billows heaving deep,
The Fathers of our race,
The precepts of their God to keep,
Sought here their resting place,

That gracious God their path prepared,
Preserved from every harm,
And still for their protection bared
His everlasting arm.

His breath, inspiring every gale,
Impels them o'er the main,
His guardian angel spreads the sail,
And tempests howl in vain.

For them old ocean's rocks are smoothed;
December's face grows mild;
To vernal airs her blasts are soothed,
And all their rage beguiled.

When Famine rolls her haggard eyes,
His ever bounteous hand
Abundance from the sea supplies,
And treasure from the sand.

Nor yet his tender mercies cease,
His over ruling plan
Inclines to gentleness and peace
The heart of savage man.

And can our stoney bosoms be
To all these wonders blind,
Nor swell with thankfulness to Thee,
O Parent of mankind?

All gracious God, inflame our zeal;
Dispense one blessing more;
Grant us thy boundless love to feel,
Thy goodness to adore.

NOTE. The following extract from a letter of the venerable author of this Hymn, was received in answer to a request, for a copy: 'Washington, 10th March, 1846. On the 22d of December, 1802, I delivered at Plymouth the Anniversary Discourse on the Landing of the Pilgrims in 1620. In the morning of that same day, before rising from bed, I composed this Hymn. A scruple of doubt whether it would be deemed worthy of the occasion, restrained me from producing it at that time. At the next celebration, in 1803, I was not present; but I had given a copy to my inestimable friend, Judge Davis, and it was then sung among the services of the day. In an account of them, a few days after, in the Boston Centinel, it was first published.'

HYMN.

BY REV. DR. HOLMES.

Sung at the 186th Anniversary of the Landing of the Fathers at Plymouth, December 22d, 1806.

TUNE, *Old Hundred.*

Our Fathers' God! to Thee we raise,
With one accord, the song of praise;
To Thee our grateful tribute pay,
Oft as returns this festal day.

With tearful eyes we here will trace
Thy wonders to the Pilgrim race,
And while those wonders we explore,
Their names extol, Thy name adore.

Our Fathers' God! Thy own decree
Ordain'd the Pilgrims to be free;
In foreign lands they own'd thy care,
And found a safe asylum there.

When the wide main they travers'd o'er,
And landed on this sea-beat shore,
The Pigrim's Rock must e'er proclaim
Thy guardian care was still the same.

Our Fathers' God! while here we trace
Our lineage to the Pilgrim race,
O may we like those Pilgrims live,
And in the sons the sires revive.

Our Fathers' God! to Thee we raise,
With one accord, the song of praise;
To Thee our grateful tribute pay,
Oft as returns this festal day.

SONG.

BY THOMAS GREENE FESSENDEN.

Sung at the Celebration by the New England Society, Dec. 22d, 1806.

TUNE, *Hail Columbia.*

The Almighty gave the high behest —
Rise an Empire in the West,
Freedom's loved and last abode,
Freedom's loved and last abode.
Our fathers bowed to his decree,
And dauntless braved an unknown sea —
Climb'd the foaming precipice,
Plunged adown the black abyss,
Where the maddening tempest raves,
Where meet the sky the mountain waves.

CHORUS.

Sons of freedom swell the song;
To sainted sires the notes prolong,
'Till the echoing skies around,
Sound the trumpet-tone rebound.

Lo! the heaven protected band
Seeks the forest fringed strand;
Roars the rough hybernal blast,
Roars the rough hybernal blast.
Countless perils wait them here,
Sickness pale and famine drear —
Pining want and dire disease
Float in every blasting breeze;
Desolation's ghastly form
Rides in every death-wing'd storm.

CHORUS.

Sons of freedom, &c.

Murd'rous hordes of savage foes
Round the pious pilgrims rose,
  With flinty hearts and blood-stained hands,
  With flinty hearts and blood-stained hands.
From horror's haunts, in wilds immense,
Lo! the gloomy bands condense —
  Hark! the war-hoop's frantic yell
  Bursts from yonder dismal dell;
  Savage forms of demons dire
  Wrap the Pilgrims' camp in fire.

CHORUS.

Sons, &c.

The God at whose behest
Rose an Empire in the West —
  Freedom's loved and last abode,
  Freedom's loved and last abode —
Protected still, with mighty hand,
The Pilgrims in a barbarous land:
  Raise the song of festive mirth
  To those who gave an Empire birth;
  Their names and memories shall rest
  Enthroned in every freeman's breast.

CHORUS.

Sons, &c.

THE SAINTED SIRES.

BY A MEMBER OF THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY, OF NEW YORK.

TUNE, *Anacreon in Heaven.*

While Pilgrims' sons, a festive throng,
To sainted sires their homage pay,

Be this the burthen — the burthen of their song,
And rapture animate the lay:

CHORUS.

Hail ye Pilgrims!
Ye sainted Pilgrims, hail!
Till hours, and years, and time shall fail.

By heroes led, by virtue warm'd,
Conducted by th' Almighty hand,
They brav'd the ocean — the ocean and the storm.
And freedom sought in unknown land.

CHORUS.

Hail ye Pilgrims! &c.

The perils of the ocean past,
Fresh dangers quickly them surround;
Shrill screams the savage — the savage o'er the blast,
And rocks and hills repeat the sound.

CHORUS.

Hail ye Pilgrims! &c.

The barb'rous foe to battle fly,
Intent on bloody deeds and spoil,
Swift flies the arrow — the arrow through the sky,
But vict'ry crowns the Pilgrim's toil.

CHORUS.

Hail ye Pilgrims! &c.

Success attend the good and brave;
The meed of praise to them belongs,
Virtue shall triumph — shall triumph o'er the grave,
And angels join their rapturous songs.

CHORUS.

Hail ye Pilgrims!
Ye sainted Pilgrims, hail!
When earth, and sky, and time shall fail.

ORIGINAL SONG.

BY JOSEPH WARREN BRACKETT, ESQ.

Sung before the N. E. Society, in New York, Dec. 22d, 1807.

TUNE, *Anacreon in Heaven.*

Hail! sons of the Pilgrims, assembled to pay
Festivity's rite to our Fathers in Glory!
May the ardor of friendship enliven the lay,
And their virtues be told, while we glow with the story.
With the patriot's fire,
Be enflam'd each desire,
To all that is noble, each bosom aspire;
For, long as old earth on her axle shall turn,
On the altars of freemen pure incense should burn.

When tyranny bigotry's banners upreared,
Those fathers, for conscience, for freedom, self-banish'd,
Confiding in Heaven, o'er the wild billow steer'd,
And in Holland found refuge, while bigotry vanished:
There, strangers awhile,
From their friends — from their Isle,
See them sojourn in hope, — in adversity smile;
Till raising again the white sail to the wind,
They plough the rough main, their own region to find.

Long tossing in doubt, o'er the wildering wave,
The pilot yet timid to brave the commotion;
Them hailing to freedom, from perils to save,
Columbia display'd her blue skirt from the ocean.
In Plymouth they land
On the bleak barren strand,
Yet they 're strong in their shield — an omnipotent hand
For there, to their wand'rings, a period they find,
And their brows with the laurels of freedom first bind.

The savage his quiver exhausted in vain;
He rose — but his tomahawk idle descended:
Independent, the Pilgrims mov'd free o'er the plain;
Magnanimity nerv'd them — their bravery defended:
Tho' environ'd by foes,
They found calm repose,
While the wilderness blossom'd and smil'd like the rose:
Till late to the grave, as they smoothly declin'd,
To their offspring, their virtue, a birthright resign'd.

When Albion their heirs to enslave vainly strove,
When lunatic Gallia committed agression,
They lowr'd in the combat — the assailants hence drove,
Independence they won — of their rights kept possession.
Then oft will we tell,
In the feast of the shell,
The deeds of their fame, 'till with transport we swell;
And teach the sweet infant, that smiles on his sire,
To pant for like fame, and to glow with like fire.

Tho' society's base were by faction assail'd,
Or the bane of our safety, by flatt'ry were varnish'd;
Tho' the vet'ran be seen in his hamlet unmail'd —
Retir'd from the Council, his laurels untarnish'd:
Yet the foe on our coast,
Lo! he flies to his post;
His valor impels — in himself he 's a host:
And with him the sons of New England shall fly,
Resolv'd to live honor'd, or nobly to die.

Yes, now from the East see aggression impend!
Ye ven'rable shades, your remembrance shall fire us;
Our rights shall be sacred — our laws we 'll defend;
Our union shall strengthen — true glory inspire us:
If the bolt be but hurl'd,
Shall our flags be unfurl'd;
Tho' *few*, yet their fame shall extend o'er the world,

While the honors, and laurels, that deck our brave tars,
Shall end but with time, and but fade with the stars!

Thus, oft in our pilgrimage, mem'ry shall glow,
As the tale of the past comes with pleasure attendant;
And the boast of our nation, latest ages shall know —
Our Fathers in Glory — their sons Independent!
Then glad be your song
Ye convivial throng;
Roll, roll the full chorus of rapture along:
For, long as old earth on her axle shall turn,
On the altars of freemen pure incense must burn.

ORIGINAL SONG.

BY PETER HAWES, ESQ.

Sung before the New England Society in New York, December 22d, 1807.

TUNE, *Yankee Doodle.*

If, Yankees, you would have a song,
A deuced nation fine one,
Then in the chorus all along,
I guess you'd like to join one.

CHORUS.

Then Yankee Doodle, one and all,
Pass 'round the chorus handy;
For some can sing, and all can bawl,
Yankee Doodle Dandy.

Our grandsires liv'd a great way off,
And if you think to doubt it,
And I had only time enough,
I'd tell you all about it.

CHORUS.

Then Yankee Doodle, roar away,
And keep the chorus handy;
For some can sing, and all can say,
Yankee Doodle Dandy.

I'd tell you all, how hard they were
For tithes and taxes hunted,
And how they did n't think 't was fair,
And how they got affronted.

CHORUS.

But Yankee Doodle, all once more,
Keep up the chorus handy,
For some can sing and all can roar,
Yankee Doodle Dandy.

And how of what might them befal,
They nothing were afraid in,
So took their wives and children all,
And off they push'd for Leyden.

CHORUS.

Then Yankee Doodle, one and all,
Struck up the chorus handy,
As loud as they could sing and bawl,
Yankee Doodle Dandy.

And there they got a monstrous ship,
As big as any Gun Boat,
And all to fit her for a trip
I guess was nicely done to 't.

CHORUS.

Then Yankee Doodle all aboard!
Pip'd out the Boatswain handy,
And young and old struck up and roar'd,
Yankee Doodle Dandy.

Then ev'ry man, he seiz'd a rope,
And pull'd with all his soul, sir,
And haul'd the Tow-cloth all way up,
And ti'd it to the Pole, sir.

CHORUS.

Then Yankee Doodle now they go
All in their ship so handy,
And sing All-saints, Old Hundred too,
And Yankee Doodle Dandy.

But when they got away from shore,
And 'fore the wind did streak it,
And heard the ocean billows roar,
I guess they did n't like it.

CHORUS.

But Yankee Doodle, never mind,
Strike up the chorus handy,
They 'd left th' oppressors far behind,
So Yankee Doodle Dandy.

And there they saw a great big fish
That thrash'd about his tail, sir,
And look so deuced saucyish,
I guess it was a whale, sir.

CHORUS.

But Yankee Doodle let him go,
All in the deep so handy,
While we above and he below
Sing Yankee Doodle Dandy.

But now a dreadful storm arose,
And dang'rous case they stood in,
And hail, and rain, and sleet, and snows,
Fell thick as Hasty Pudding!

CHORUS.

But, foul or fair, we 're stout and strong,
In ev'ry lot we 're handy;
Then join the chorus, and the song,
Of Yankee Doodle Dandy.

The billows they roll'd up on high,
Enough the ship to fill, sir,
And toss'd the vessel at the sky,
As high as 'Chusett Hill, sir.

CHORUS.

But Yankee Doodle, that 's the thing
At which we 're always handy;
For, high or low, we 'll always sing,
Yankee Doodle Dandy.

And now this noble ship, once more,
As staunch as ever man trod,
Approach'd the sandy, desert shore,
And landed them on Cape Cod.

CHORUS.

Then Yankee Doodle, all again
Join'd in the chorus handy,
And sung aloud with might and main,
Yankee Doodle Dandy.

When all were safely landed so,
Our grand-daddies and grand-dams,
And Sall, and Sue, and Bill, and Joe,
All had a feast on sand-clams!

CHORUS.

Then Yankee Doodle, all, you know,
Join'd in the chorus handy,
And Sall, and Sue, and Bill, and Joe,
Sung Yankee Doodle Dandy.

To keep the bears and panthers out,
And not less savage wild-man,
Of white pine logs each built a hut,
As big as Father's Hog-Pen!

CHORUS.

Then Yankee Doodle let them come,
They' ll always find us handy
With musket balls instead of rum,
So Yankee Doodle Dandy.

They planted fields enclos'd with stakes,
And work'd like dogs or asses;
Made pumpkin pies and indian cakes,
And ate them up with 'lasses.

CHORUS.

Then Yankee Doodle, one and all,
Join'd in the chorus handy,
As loud as they could sing and bawl,
Yankee Doodle Dandy.

And ev'ry day for many weeks,
Beginning on each Monday,
They watch'd and work'd and fought like Greeks
And went to church on Sunday.

CHORUS.

For Yankee Doodle, heroes great
In all good works are handy;
In peace, or war, in church, or state,
They 're Yankee Doodle Dandy.

SECOND CHORUS.

Then Yankee Doodle, all once more,
Join in the chorus handy,
As loud as you can sing and roar,
Yankee Doodle Dandy.

NEW ENGLAND SONG.

COMPOSED IN 1811 BY SAMUEL F. BROWN, ESQ. OF BUCKFIELD, MAINE.

When our fathers of yore, hove in sight of this shore,
And the sailors were first heard to sing land,
From their cabin, so hamper'd, on deck they all scamper'd,
To take the first peep at *New England:*
The rough rugged shores of *New England;*
The wild woods and rocks of *New England:*
So, pleased with the view, they directly hove to,
And they capered ashore in *New England.*

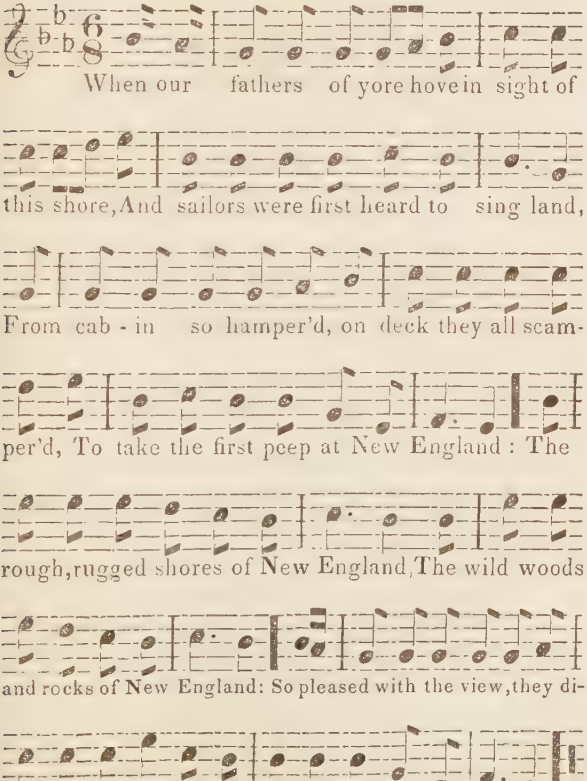
They tore up the soil, with abundance of toil,
And they soon made a beautiful green land;
And they planted a tree, which they called Liberty.
In the generous soil of *New England.*
It flourished and grew in *New England:*
Its branches spread over *New England:*
And under its shadow our fathers have had, O!
The richest of joys in *New England.*

But Mr. John Bull, who would lord it in full,
Came out in a rage from *Old England,*
And swore that this tree no longer should be
Found growing so high in *New England:*
That it never belonged to *New England:*
Though it already bloomed in *New England:*
So we soon came to blows; with a huge bloody nose,
He was glad to pack off from *New England.*

Next came Monsieur Frank, all so nimble and crank,
Who thought o'er the world he should swing hand;
From rabble and robbery to kick up a bobbery,
'Mong the peaceable folks of *New England:*
To sow his wild oats in *New England:*
To sap the fair tree of *New England:*

NEW ENGLAND.

A song composed in 1811, *by Samuel F. Brown, Esq. of Buckfield, Maine.*


When our fathers of yore hove in sight of
this shore, And sailors were first heard to sing land,
From cab - in so hamper'd, on deck they all scam-
per'd, To take the first peep at New England : The
rough, rugged shores of New England, The wild woods
and rocks of New England: So pleased with the view, they di-
rectly hove to, and they caper'd a-shore in New England.

The beef and the cod of *New England:*
To our tight little navy he soon cried *pecavi*,
And he capered away from New England.

Now we've peace all around, and with joy we abound,
Our rights are secured in this free land;
Let's all be united, for all are delighted
With the manners of men of *New England:*
The fields and the brooks of *New England:*
The beef and the cod of *New England:*
Our Army and Navy will send to Old Davy
The foes to the rights of *New England.*

HYMN.

AUTHOR UNKNOWN.

TUNE, *Lyons.*

A rock in the wilderness welcomed our sires,
From bondage far over the dark rolling sea,
On that holy altar they kindled the fires,
Jehovah, which glow in our bosoms for thee

Thy blessings descended in sunshine and shower,
Or rose from the soil that was sown by thy hand.
The mountain and valley rejoiced in thy power,
And heaven encircled and smiled on the land.

The Pilgrims of old an example have given
Of mild resignation, devotion and love,
Which beams like the star in the blue vault of Heaven,
A beacon-light hung in the mansions above.

In church and cathedral we kneel in our prayer,
Their temple and chapel were valley and hill;
But God is the same in the aisle, or the air,
And he is the Rock that we lean upon still.

ODE.

BY SAMUEL DAVIS.

TUNE, *St. Martins* OR *Auld Lang Syne.*

Let children learn the mighty deeds,
Their Sires achieved of old;
And still, as time to time succeeds,
To them the tale unfold.

Here while we fondly trace the scene
This joyous day recalls,
Let youth with reverend age convene
Within these hallowed walls.

Their pious toils, their just rewards,
Returning tributes claim,
While faithful history records
Each venerable name.

Here first the temple's votive fane,
Aspiring, sought the skies,
And here Religion's exiled train
Bade sacred altars rise.

No longer now the roaming hords
Unhallowed vigils keep;
No more affrighted mothers guard
Their cradled infants sleep:

But social arts and peaceful homes
This favored land endear,
Where fields and masts and rising domes,
With scattered grace, appear.

Let musing strangers view the ground,
Here seek tradition's lore,
Where Pilgrims walked on holy ground,
With God in days of yore;

And where around the savage tribe,
Alarmed with horrid yells,
Assembling crowds secure imbibe
What holy legend tells.

Let children emulate their deeds,
Their choral praises sing;
So shall the muse, as time proceeds,
Her meed of incense bring.

—◇—

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

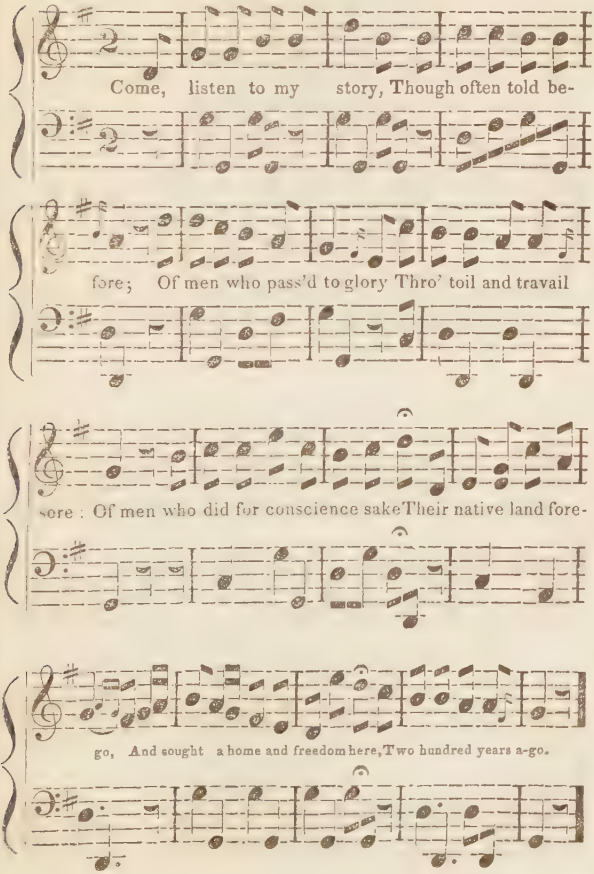
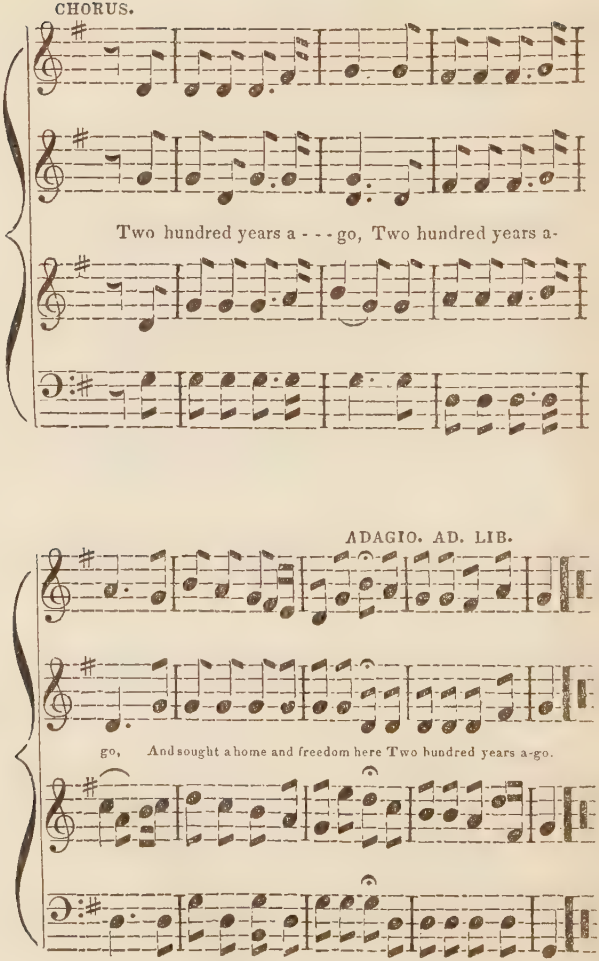
The following Song, composed by Rev Dr. Flint, for the occasion, was sung at the Public Dinner at Plymouth, on the 22d of December, 1820.

Come, listen to my story,
Though often told before,
Of men who pass'd to glory,
Through toil and travail sore;
Of men who did for conscience sake
Their native land forego,
And sought a home and freedom here
Two hundred years ago.

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

A song written by Rev. James Flint, D. D. of Salem, Mass. for the Centennial Celebration at Plymouth, 1820. Music by B. BROWN, ESQ.

ANDANTE.


Come, listen to my story, Though often told be-
fore; Of men who pass'd to glory Thro' toil and travail
sore: Of men who did for conscience sake Their native land fore-
go, And sought a home and freedom here, Two hundred years a-go.

CHORUS.
Two hundred years a - - - go, Two hundred years a-
ADAGIO. AD. LIB.
go, And sought a home and freedom here Two hundred years a-go.

O, 't was no earth-born passion,
That bade the adventurers stray;
The world and all its fashion,
With them had passed away.
A voice from Heaven bade them look
Above the things below,
When here they sought a resting-place
Two hundred years ago.

O, dark the scene and dreary,
When here they set them down;
Of storms and billows weary,
And chill'd with winter's frown.
Deep moan'd the forests to the wind,
Loud howl'd the savage foe,
While here their evening prayer arose
Two hundred years ago.

'T would drown the heart in sorrow
To tell of all their woes;
No respite could they borrow,
But from the grave's repose.
Yet nought could daunt the Pilgrim Band
Or sink their courage low,
Who came to plant the Gospel here
Two hundred years ago.

With humble prayer and fasting,
In every strait and grief,
They sought the Everlasting,
And found a sure relief.
Their cov'nant God o'ershadow'd them,
Their shield from every foe,
And gave them here a dwelling place
Two hundred years ago.

Of fair New England's glory,
They laid the corner-stone;
This praise, in deathless story,
Their grateful sons shall own.
Prophetic they foresaw in time,
A mighty state should grow,
From them a few, faint Pilgrims here,
Two hundred years ago.

If greatness be in daring,
Our Pilgrim Sires were great,
Whose sojourn here, unsparing,
Disease and famine wait;
And oft their treach'rous foes combin'd
To lay the strangers low,
While founding here their commonwealth
Two hundred years ago.

Though seeming over-zealous,
In things by us deem'd light,
They were but duly jealous
Of power usurping right.
They nobly chose to part with all
Most dear to men below,
To worship here their God in peace
Two hundred years ago.

From seeds they sowed with weeping,
Our richest harvests rise,
We still the fruits are reaping
Of Pilgrim enterprise.
Then grateful we to them will pay
The debt of fame we owe,
Who planted here the tree of life
Two hundred years ago.

As comes this period yearly,
Around our cheerful fires,
We 'll think and tell how dearly
Our comforts cost our sires.
For them will wake the votive song,
And bid the canvass glow,
Who fix'd the home of freedom here
Two hundred years ago.

ODE

For the Celebration of the Anniversary of the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, December 22d, 1824.

BY REV. J. PIERPONT.

The pilgrim fathers — where are they?
The waves that brought them o'er
Still roll in the bay, and throw their spray,
As they break along the shore:
Still roll in the bay, as they rolled that day
When the Mayflower moored below,
When the sea around was black with storms,
And white the shore with snow.

The mists, that wrapped the pilgrim's sleep,
Still brood upon the tide;
And his rocks yet keep their watch by the deep,
To stay its waves of pride;
But the snow-white sail, that he gave to the gale
When the heavens looked dark, is gone: —
As an angel's wing, through an opening cloud,
Is seen, and then withdrawn.

The pilgrim exile — sainted name!
The hill, whose icy brow
Rejoiced, when he came, in the morning's flame,
In the morning's flame burns now.
And the moon's cold light as it lay that night
On the hill-side and the sea,
Still lies where he laid his houseless head; —
But the pilgrim — where is he?

The pilgrim fathers are at rest:
When Summer 's throned on high,
And the world's warm breast is in verdure dressed
Go, stand on the hill where they lie.
The earliest ray of the golden day
On that hallowed spot is cast;
And the evening sun, as he leaves the world,
Looks kindly on that spot last.

The pilgrim *spirit* has not fled:
It walks in noon's broad light;
And it watches the bed of the glorious dead,
With the holy stars, by night.
It watches the bed of the brave who have bled,
And shall guard this ice-bound shore,
Till the waves of the bay, where the Mayflower lay,
Shall foam and freeze no more.

HYMN.

Sung at Pilgrim Hall at the Celebration of 1824.

COMPOSED BY WILLIAM P. LUNT.

TUNE, *Bruce's Address, Scots wha ha*, &c.

Holy spot! where glowing choirs,
Oft have wakened grateful lyres,
Oft have kindled grateful fires,
O'er the Pilgrim's grave;

Once again we press the shore,
Where our Fathers sternly swore,
Ocean should forget to roar,
Ere they would be slaves.

Hail the dawn when Freedom's rays
Hushed Columbia's icy face;
Sweeter strains arise of praise,
Than from Memnon's harp.

Hail the spot — our Sires' retreat!
Hail the waves that round them beat,
Hail the Rock that bore their feet,
When their wanderings ceased.

Fancy paints in yonder bay
The bark that broke the Pilgrim's way,
The *Cradle* where our nation lay
In her infant days.

See the boat approach the land,
Freighted with the pious band,
See they kneel upon the strand,
Warm with gratitude.

Vent your fury wind and flood,
Freedom's bark is safely moored,
Freedom's sons with hearts assured
Now their work begin.

Gloomy scenes await the brave;
Savage foes around them rave;
Carver fills an early grave,
Hope well nigh expires.

But to Faith's reluming eye,
Visions bright in prospect lie;
E'en a triumph 't were to die,
If in conscience free.

Still above the sacred dead,
Future crowds shall yearly tread;
Blooming youth and hoary head,
Meet around their urns.

Oft shall Genius' fluent tongue,
Trace the story, swell the song;
Oft amidst the listening throng
Thrill the feeling soul.

Ye who 've sprung from noble blood,
Men who spurned the Tyrant's rod,
Men who bowed to none but God,
Here your vows repeat:

'By their pious shades we swear,
By their toils and perils here,
We will guard with jealous care,
Law and Liberty.'

LINES.

WASHINGTON ALLSTON.

Though ages long have past,
Since our fathers left their home,
Their pilot in the blast,
O'er untravelled seas to roam,—
Yet lives the blood of England in our veins:
And shall we not proclaim,
That blood of honest fame,
Which no tyranny can tame,
By its chains?

While the language free and bold,
Which the bard of Avon sung,
In which our Milton told,
How the vault of Heaven rung
When Satan, blasted, fell with all his host;
While these, with reverence meet,
Ten thousand echoes greet,
And from rock to rock repeat,
Round our coast;

While the manners, while the arts,
That mould a nation's soul,
Still cling around our hearts,
Between, let ocean roll,
Our joint communion breaking with the sun;
Yet still from either beach,
The voice of blood shall reach
More audible than speech,
*We are one.**

* This alludes merely to the moral union of the two countries. The author would not have it supposed that the tribute of respect, offered in these stanzas to the land of his ancestors, would be paid by him, if at the expense of the independence of that which gave him birth.

HYMN.

BY W. C. BRYANT.

Wild was the day; the wintry sea
  Moaned sadly on New England's strand,
When first, the thoughtful and the free,
  Our fathers, trod the desert land.

They little thought how pure a light
  With years, should gather round that day;
How love should keep their memories bright,
  How wide a realm their sons should sway.

Green are their bays; and greener still
  Shall round their spreading fame be wreathed,
And regions now untrod, shall thrill
  With reverence, when their names are breathed.

Till where the sun, with softer fires,
  Looks on the vast Pacific's sleep,
The children of the pilgrim sires,
  This hallowed day like us shall keep.

THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

BY MRS. HEMANS.

The breaking waves dashed high
  On a stern and rock-bound coast
And the woods, against a stormy sky
  Their giant branches tost;

And the heavy night hung dark,
  The hills and waters o'er,

When a band of exiles moored their bark
On the wild New England shore.

Not as the conqueror comes,
They, the true-hearted came,
Not with the roll of the stirring drums,
And the trumpet that sings of fame;

Not as the flying come,
In silence and in fear, —
They shook the depths of the desert's gloom
With their hymns of lofty cheer.

Amidst the storm they sang,
And the stars heard and the sea!
And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang
To the anthem of the free!

The ocean-eagle soared,
From his nest by the white wave's foam,
And the rocking pines of the forest roared —
This was their welcome home!

There were men with hoary hair,
Amidst that pilgrim-band,
Why had they come to wither there
Away from their childhood's land?

There was woman's fearless eye,
Lit by her deep love's truth;
There was manhood's brow serenely high,
And the fiery heart of youth.

What sought they thus afar?
Bright jewels of the mine?
The wealth of seas, the spoils of war?
— They sought a faith's pure shrine!

Aye, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod!
They have left unstain'd what there they found —
Freedom to worship God!

These glorious verses will find an echo in the breast of every true descendant of the Pilgrims, and give their authoress a place in many hearts. She has laid our community under a common obligation of gratitude. Every one must feel the sublimity and poetical truth, with which she has conceived the scene presented, and the inspiration of that deep and holy strain of sentiment, which sounds forth like the pealing of an organ.

Mrs. Hemans' Poetical Works, p. 270.

NEW ENGLAND.

BY J. G. PERCIVAL.

Hail to the land whereon we tread,
Our fondest boast;
The sepulchre of mighty dead,
The truest hearts that ever bled,
Who sleep on Glory's brightest bed,
A fearless host:
No slave is here; our unchained feet
Walk freely as the waves that beat
Our coast.

Our fathers crossed the ocean's wave
To seek this shore;
They left behind the coward slave
To welter in his living grave;—
With hearts unbent, and spirits brave,
They sternly bore
Such toils as meaner souls had quelled;
But souls like these, such toils impelled
To soar.

Hail to the morn, when first they stood
On Bunker's height,
And, fearless, stemmed the invading flood,
And wrote our dearest rights in blood,
And mowed in ranks the hireling brood,
In desperate fight!
O, 't was a proud, exulting day,
For even our fallen fortunes lay
In light.

There is no other land like thee,
No dearer shore;
Thou art the shelter of the free;
The home, the port of Liberty,
Thou hast been, and shalt ever be,
Till time is o'er.
Ere I forget to think upon
My land, shall mother curse the son
She bore.

Thou art the firm, unshaken rock,
On which we rest;
And, rising from thy hardy stock,
Thy sons the tyrants frown shall mock,
And Slavery's galling chains unlock,
And free the oppressed:
All, who the wreath of Freedom twine
Beneath the shadow of their vine,
Are blessed.

We love thy rude and rocky shore,
And here we stand —
Let foreign navies hasten o'er,
And on our heads their fury pour,
And peal their cannon's loudest roar,
And storm our land;

They still shall find our lives are given
To die for home;—and leant on Heaven
Our hand.

REMEMBRANCE OF THE PILGRIMS.

By a Member of the New England Society of New York.

With joy I heard them say
When roving far abroad,
On this their landing day
We 'll praise the Pilgrims' God.
I knew the cry
I'll join the song,
Thy courts we 'll throng
O thou most High!

This day let all awake,
And sing the mighty dead,
Who, first, for Zion's sake,
O'er raging oceans fled.
Had not our God
Preserved that flock,
Safe on the rock
They ne'er had trod.

At once their temples rose,
Our schools were founded then,
Nor could their mightier foes
Withstand those valiant men:
But vain their skill,
And vain their sword,
Had not the Lord
Upheld them still.

Peace to that Holy ground!
That consecrated spot!
The first our fathers found
Where tyrants trouble not.
We' ll sound abroad,
Where e'er we roam,
The Pilgrims' home,
The Pilgrims' God!

—◇—

CLARK'S ISLAND.

BY HENRY B. GOODWIN.

Hail hallowed spot! where Freedom's rays
First darted o'er the wanderer's ways,
And gave him rest,
First brought the dawn of brighter days,
Thy shores are blest!

But dark the clouds that lingered round
The island which the Pilgrim found
In time long gone,
And deep and drear the thrilling sound
Of gathering storm.

Aye, dark indeed, whose night of yore,
That rocked the May-Flower near thy shore
On wintry tides,
For dark the waves that round thee roar,
And wash thy sides.

But bright the star that lent its ray
To bear the Traveller on his way
From childhood's seat,
That lighted up so fair a day
For his retreat.

O who would ask a holier bed,
Than where he laid his weary head,
And nobly slept,
For though the Pilgrim long hath fled
His spirit 's left.

Then hail the spot, where first the sound
Of Freedom shook the sacred ground
In early days,
And filled the hills and forests round
With gladsome praise.

ODE.

Written for the thirty-fourth Anniversary of the New England Society of New York.

BY RUFUS DAWES.

TUNE, *God save the King.*

SONS of NEW ENGLAND sires!
Why do your altar-fires
Flame up on high;—
Why from your festal board,
Wakes the loud anthem, pour'd
Joyous, with one accord,
Wing'd for the sky?—

Not for the voice that spoke
Triumph — when Britain's yoke
Burst with your chains; —
Not for the heroes brave,
Bleeding by CHARLES's wave,
Not for the patriot's grave,
Wake ye your strains; —

But for the Pilgrim-band,
They who from LEYDEN's land
Dared the rough sea;
Braving the ocean vast,
Scorning the wintry blast,
So they might find, at last,
Room for the free.

Hark, how the thunder peals!
See, how the brave ship reels,
Whirl'd in the brine! —
Courage! — the GOD that wears
Storm-robes, the good-man spares,
Pilgrim! — he hears your prayers, —
Joy to your line!

Nobly the MAY-FLOWER bows,
While the dark wave she ploughs
On to the West;
Till, from the tempest's shock,
Proudly she lands her flock, —
Where on old PLYMOUTH-ROCK,
Freedom found rest.

Lo! from yon starry sphere,
Spirits in light appear,
Glorious, but few; —

Pilgrims! — we see you now —
Fathers! — to you we bow —
Hear, then, your children's vow,
Still to be true.

Join, brothers, heart and hand,
Sons of the Pilgrim-band!
Swear now to be
All that your fathers sought, —
All that their virtue wrought, —
So shall your sons be taught
How to be free!

ODE

For the Celebration of the Landing of the Pilgrims, by the New England Society, New York, December 22d, 1832.

BY GRENVILLE MELLEN, ESQ.

TUNE, *Iddo*.

Not all the loftiest memories
That rose on earlier days,
When with the trump, and sacrifice,
And swelling pomp of praise,
Men gather'd to their pillar'd halls,
Mid garlands, joy and wine,
To gaze on heroes round the walls,
In marble made divine, —

And pour the deep libation there,
To victors pass'd away;
Or minds, whose wonders, rich and rare,
Pour'd splendor on their day —
Not all in finer hearts, can vie
With those that summon here,
To lift, on Freedom's clarion high
The anthem of our cheer!

We sing a nobler race than pass'd
In ancient times to glory: —
We sing of deeds that shall outlast,
In fame, all classic story;
Of men who fought for GOD, and gave
Home for a desert shore —
With hearts too panoplied and brave
To quail beneath its roar!

Of EXILES of a deathless line,
And proud, unshrinking brow; —
Lone PILGRIMS to a rocky shrine,
Where a people bends them now! —
A rocky shrine — unshelter'd — rude —
Where the wild wolf from his lair,
Shriek'd thro' the pathless solitude,
And broke the voice of prayer!

We sing of heroes who outdid
The boast of chivalry:
Whose valor braved the shock amid
A stormy sea and sky;
Whose deeds were deeds of mercy, done
To persecuted man —
Whose wreaths were wreaths of triumph, won
In VIRTUE'S fearless van!

New England's Fathers!—men who dar'd
The agony of years —
Whom pale Oppression never spar'd,
But could not bow to tears!
Who mid the howl of winter fled,
And your banner here unfurl'd,
And Conscience in her pride outled
Unfetter'd to the world!

Pilgrims of Glory!—there shall rise
Fast praise from heart and tongue
Of all, for whom in sacrifice,
Like martyr-saints ye sprung;—
And their children's children shall outpour
From echoing clime to clime,
New pæans for the toils ye bore
In a nation's morning time.

Two hundred years their cloudy wings
Expand above your graves,
And lo! what wide-flush'd glory flings
O'er all New England's waves!—
Fathers of Liberty!—to ye
We lift the wine-cup now —
Your's be the hallow'd memory
That consecrates our vow.

And should the voice of prophecy
That 's doom'd us to the dust,
Ere chant the requiem of the Free,
By tyranny accurs'd,
O be a remnant true to her!—
Sons whom New England bore,
Together seek one sepulchre
On Plymouth's sounding shore!

THE PILGRIMS.

BY MRS. SIGOURNEY.

How slow yon tiny vessel ploughs the main!
Amid the heavy billows now she seems
A toiling atom, — then from wave to wave
Leaps madly, by the tempest lashed, — or reels,
Half wrecked, through gulfs profound.
— Moons wax and wane,
But still that lonely traveller treads the deep. —
I see an ice-bound coast, toward which she steers
With such a tardy movement, that it seems
Stern Winter's hand hath turned her keel to stone,
And sealed his victory on her slippery shrouds. —
They land! — They land! — not like the Genoese,
With glittering sword, and gaudy train, and eye
Kindling with golden fancies. — Forth they come
From their long prison, — hardy forms, that brave
The world's unkindness, — men of hoary hair,
And virgins of firm heart, and matrons grave,
Who hush the wailing infant with a *glance*. —
Bleak Nature's desolation wraps them round,
Eternal forests, and unyielding earth,
And savage men, who through the thickets peer
With vengeful arrow. — What could lure their steps
To this drear desert? — Ask of him who left
His father's home to roam through Haran's wilds,
Distrusting not the Guide who called him forth,
Nor doubting, though a stranger, that his seed
Should be as Ocean's sands. —
But yon lone bark
Hath spread her parting sail.
They crowd the strand,
Those few, lone pilgrims. — Can ye scan the wo
That wrings their bosoms, as the last frail link

Binding to man, and habitable earth,
Is severed? — Can ye tell what pangs were there,
What keen regrets, what sickness of the heart,
What yearnings o'er their forfeit land of birth,
Their distant dear ones?
Long, with straining eye,
They watch the lessening speck. — Heard ye no shriek
Of anguish, when that bitter loneliness
Sank down into their bosoms? — No! they turn
Back to their dreary, famished huts, and pray! —
Pray, — and the ills that haunt this transient life
Fade into air. — Up in each girded breast
There sprang a rooted and mysterious strength, —
A loftiness, — to face a world in arms, —
To strip the pomp from sceptres, — and to lay
Upon the sacred altar the warm blood
Of slain affections, when they rise between
The soul and God. —
And can ye deem it strange
That from *their* planting such a branch should bloom
As nations envy? — Would a germ, embalmed
With prayer's pure tear-drops, strike no deeper root
Than that which mad ambition's hand doth strew
Upon the winds, to reap the winds again?
Hid by its veil of waters from the hand
Of greedy Europe, their bold vine spread forth
In giant strength. —
Its early clusters, crushed
In England's wine-press, gave the tyrant host
A draught of deadly wine. —— O, ye who boast
In your free veins the blood of sires like these,
Lose not their lineaments. — Should Mammon cling
Too close around your heart, — or wealth beget
That bloated luxury which eats the core
From manly virtue, — or the tempting world
Make faint the Christian purpose in your soul,

Turn ye to Plymouth's beach, — and on that rock
Kneel in *their* foot-prints, and renew the vow
They breathed to God.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

SPRAGUE.

They come — that coming who shall tell?
The eye may weep, the heart may swell,
But the poor tongue in vain essays
A fitting note for them to raise.
We hear the after-shout that rings
For them who smote the power of kings;
The swelling triumph all would share;
But who the dark defeat would dare,
And boldly meet the wrath and wo,
That wait the unsuccessful blow?
It were an envied fate, we deem,
To live a land's recorded theme,
When we are in the tomb.
We, too, might yield the joys of home,
And waves of winter darkness roam,
And tread a shore of bloom,
Knew we those waves, through coming time,
Should roll our names to every clime;
Felt we that millions on that shore
Should stand, our memory to adore.
But no glad vision burst in light
Upon the pilgrims' aching sight;
Their hearts no proud hereafter swelled;
Deep shadows veiled the way they held;

The yell of vengeance was the trump of fame;
Their monument, a grave without a name.

Yet, strong in weakness, there they stand,
On yonder ice-bound rock,
Stern and resolved, that faithful band,
To meet fate's rudest shock.
Though anguish rends the father's breast,
For them, his dearest and his best,
With him the waste who trod —
Though tears that freeze, the mother sheds
Upon her children's houseless heads —
The Christian turns to God!

In grateful adoration now,
Upon the barren sands they bow.
What tongue of joy e'er woke such prayer
As bursts in desolation there!
What arm of strength e'er wrought such power
As waits to crown that feeble hour!
There into life an infant empire springs!
There falls the iron from the soul;
There Liberty's young accents roll
Up to the King of kings!
To fair creation's farthest bound,
That thrilling summons yet shall sound;
The dreaming nations shall awake,
And to their centre earth's old kingdoms shake.
Pontiff and prince, your sway
Must crumble from that day;
Before the loftier throne of Heaven,
The band is raised, the pledge is given,
One monarch to obey, one creed to own —
That monarch, God, that creed, his word alone.

Spread out earth's holiest records here,
Of days and deeds to reverence dear,

A zeal like this what pious legends tell!
On kingdoms built
In blood and guilt,
The worshippers of vulgar triumph dwell;
But what exploits with theirs shall page,
Who rose to bless their kind,
Who left their nation and their age,
Man's spirit to unbind!
Who boundless seas passed o'er,
And boldly met, in every path,
Famine, and frost, and heathen wrath,
To dedicate a shore,
Where Piety's meek train might breathe their vow,
And seek their Maker with an unshamed brow;
Where Liberty's glad race might proudly come,
And set up there an everlasting home!
O, many a time it hath been told,
The story of those men of old:
For this fair Poetry hath wreathed
Her sweetest, purest flower;
For this proud Eloquence hath breathed
His strain of loftiest power:
Devotion, too, hath lingered round
Each spot of consecrated ground,
And hill and valley blessed;
There, where our banished fathers strayed,
There, where they loved, and wept, and prayed,
There, where their ashes rest.

And never may they rest unsung,
While Liberty can find a tongue.
Twine, Gratitude, a wreath for them,
More deathless than the diadem,
Who to life's noblest end,
Gave up life's noblest powers,
And bade the legacy descend,
Down, down to us and ours.

SONG OF THE PILGRIMS.

BY T. C. UPHAM.

The breeze has swelled the whitening sail,
The blue waves curl beneath the gale,
And, bounding with the wave and wind,
We leave old England's shores behind.
Leave behind our native shore,
Homes, and all we loved before.

The deep may dash, the winds may blow,
The storm spread out its wings of wo,
Till sailors' eyes can see a shroud
Hung in the folds of every cloud;
Still, as long as life shall last,
From that shore we'll speed us fast.

For we would rather never be,
Than dwell where mind cannot be free,
But bows beneath a despot's rod
Even where it seeks to worship God.
Blasts of heaven, onward sweep!
Bear us o'er the troubled deep!

O, see what wonders meet our eyes!
Another land, and other skies!
Columbian hills have met our view!
Adieu! Old England's shores, adieu!
Here, at length, our feet shall rest,
Hearts be free, and homes be blessed.

As long as yonder firs shall spread
Their green arms o'er the mountain's head —
As long as yonder cliffs shall stand,
Where join the ocean and the land, —
Shall those cliffs and mountains be
Proud retreats for liberty.

Now to the King of kings we'll raise
The pæan loud of sacred praise;
More loud than sounds the swelling breeze,
More loud than speak the rolling seas!
Happier lands have met our view!
England's shores, adieu! adieu!

ORIGINAL HYMN.

By the Rev. S. Deane, for the 22d of Dec., 1831.

Tune, *Tamworth.*

Lo! the rising star of Freedom
Once our pilgrim fathers blest;
By her light, ordained to lead them,
To the land of promised rest.
Star of heaven!
Star of heaven!
Trav'ling toward the distant west.

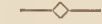
While their countless toils enduring,
Faith the promise kept in sight:
For themselves and sons securing,
Home and country, truth and light.
Star of heaven!
Star of heaven!
Pointing to Jehovah's might.

Now the relics round us lying,
Grateful children guard their clay!

While their spirits, never dying,
Hope has borne on wings away:
Star of heaven!
Star of heaven!
Guiding to a brighter day.

Raise we honors to their merit,
Temples sculptured with their name?
No! their virtues to inherit,
Seals their bright and conscious fame.
Star of heaven!
Star of heaven!
High they shine with ceaseless flame.

See the lights around us gleaming,
Still to guide the pilgrims' eyes:
See the star of empire beaming,
Bids their children's glory rise.
Star of heaven!
Star of heaven!
Glowing still in western skies.



SONG.

When this old chair was new,
The manners of the times,
I now will bring to view,
Take heed unto my rhymes.
One hundred years and more,
If history be true,
Since our forefathers came ashore,
When this old chair was new.

They reared an humble roof,
All pleasant to the sight,
Their ship was far aloof,
It caught on fire at night.
Cold lodgings on the ground,
Oft made their hearts to rue,
While deadly arrows flew around
When this old chair was new.

No neighborhood was theirs
Save natives of the land,
And many wants and cares,
And winter was at hand.
Good neighborhood's sincerity,
They never failed to show,
Their daily word was verity
When this old chair was new.

Their bread on waters cast,
In future blessings found,
While hardships knit 'em fast
Still bade 'em yet abound.
Full humble were their meals,
Their dainties very few,
'T was only groundnuts, clams or eels,
When this old chair was new.

Their greeting very soft,
Good morrow very kind,
How sweet it sounded oft,
Before we were refined.
Humility their care,
Their failings very few,
My heart! how kind their manners were,
When this old chair was new.

THE PILGRIM'S VISION.

Composed for the Celebration at Plymouth, Dec. 22d, 1846.

BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

In the hour of twilight shadows
The Puritan looked out;
He thought of the 'bloody Salvages'
That lurked all round about—
Of Wituwawmet's pictured knife,
And Pecksuot's whooping shout;
For the baby's flesh was tender,
Though his father's arms were stout.

His home was a freezing cabin,
Too bare for the hungry rat;
Its roof was thatched with ragged grass,
And bald enough of that.
The hole that served for casement
Was glazed with an ancient hat;
And the ice was gently thawing
From the log whereon he sat.

Along the dreary landscape,
His eyes went to and fro;
The trees all clad in icicles,
The streams that did not flow.
A sudden thought flashed o'er him —
A dream of long ago —
He smote his leathern jerkin,
And murmured, 'Even so!'

'Come hither, God-be-Glorified,
And sit upon my knee;
Behold the dream unfolding,
Whereof I spake to thee
By the winter's hearth, in Leyden,
And on the stormy sea,
True is the dream's beginning,
So may its ending be!

'I saw in the naked forest,
Our scattered remnant cast;
A screen of shivering branches
Between them and the blast;
The snow was falling round them,
The dying fell as fast;
I looked to see them perish,
When, lo! the vision passed.

'Again mine eyes were opened,
The feeble had waxed strong;
The babes had grown to sturdy men,
The remnant was a throng.
By shadowed lake, and winding stream.
And all the shores along,
The howling demons quaked to hear
The Christian's godly song.

'They slept — the village fathers —
By river, lake, and shore;
When, far adown the steep of time,
The vision rose once more.
I saw, along the winter snow,
A spectral column pour;
And, high above their broken ranks,
A tattered flag they bore.

'Their leader rode before them,
Of bearing calm and high;
The light of Heaven's own kindling
Throned in his awful eye.
These were a Nation's champions,
Her dread appeal to try;
God for the right! I faltered,
And, lo! the train passed by.

'Once more — the strife was ended,
The solemn issue tried;
The Lord of Hosts, his mighty arm
Had helped our Israel's side.
Gray stone, and grassy hillock,
Told where the martyrs died;
And peace was in the borders
Of Victory's chosen bride.

'A crash — as when some swollen cloud
Cracks o'er the tangled trees!
With side to side, and spar to spar,
Whose smoking decks are these?
I know St. George's blood-red cross,
Thou Mistress of the Seas,
But who is she whose streaming bars
Roll out before the breeze?

'Ah, well her iron ribs are knit,
Whose thunders strive to quell
The bellowing throats, the blazing lips
That pealed the Armada's knell!
The mist was cleared — a wreath of stars
Rose o'er the crimsoned swell,
And wavering from its haughty peak,
The cross of England fell!

'Oh trembling Faith! though dark the morn,
A heavenly torch is thine;
While feebler races melt away,
And paler orbs decline,
Shall still the fiery pillar's ray
Along thy path-way shine,
To light the chosen tribe that sought
This Western Palestine.

'I see the living tide roll on,
It crowns with flaming towers
The icy cape of Labrador,
The Spaniard's 'land of flowers,'
It streams beyond the splintered ridge
That parts the northern shores,
From Eastern rock to sunset wave
The Continent is ours!'

He ceased — the grim old Puritan —
Then softly bent to cheer
The pilgrim-child whose wasting face
Was meekly turned to hear;
And drew his toil-worn sleeve across,
To brush the manly tear
From cheeks that never changed in wo,
And never blanched in fear.

The weary pilgrim slumbers,
His resting place unknown;
His hands were crossed, his lids were closed,
The dust was o'er him strown,
The drifting soil, the mouldering leaf
Along the sod were blown,
His mound has melted into earth,
His memory lives alone.

So let it live unfading,
The memory of the dead,
Long as the pale anemone
Springs where their tears were shed,
Or raining in the summer's wind,
In flakes of burning red,
The wild rose sprinkles with its leaves
The turf where once they bled!

Yea, when the frowning bulwarks
That guard this holy strand
Have sunk beneath the trampling surge
In beds of sparkling sand,
While in the waste of ocean,
One hoary rock shall stand,
Be this its latest legend—
HERE WAS THE PILGRIM'S LAND!

ODE.

COMPOSED BY REV. SAMUEL GILMAN, OF CHARLESTOWN, SOUTH CAROLINA.

AIR, *Believe me if all those endearing young charms.*

NEW ENGLAND! receive the heart's tribute that comes
From thine own Pilgrim-sons far away,
More fondly than ever our thoughts turn to thee,
Upon this thine old Festival Day.
We would rescue with social observance and song,
Awhile from oblivion's grave,
The lov'd scenes of our youth, and those blessings recall
Which our Country and Forefathers gave.

We have gazed on thy mountains that whitened the sky,
Or have roved on thy tempest-worn shore;
We have breathed thy keen air or have felt thy bright fires,
While we listened to legends of yore.
We have gathered thy nuts in the mild autumn sun,
And the grey squirrel chas'd thro' thy woods,
From thy red and gold orchards have plucked the ripe store,
And have bath'd in thy clear-rolling floods.

When thy snows have descended in soft feather'd showers,
Or hurtled along in the storm,
We have welcomed alike with our faces and hearts,
Its beauteous or terrible form.
We have skimm'd o'er thine ice with the fleetness of wind,
We have rear'd the thick snow-castle's wall,
And have acted our part in the combat that raged
With the hard-pressed and neatly-form'd ball.

We remember the way to those school-houses well,
That bedeck every mile of thy land,
We have lov'd thy sweet Sabbaths that bade in repose,
The plough in its mid-furrow stand.
We have joined in thy hymns and thy anthems, that swell'd
Through Religion's oft visited dome,
We have blest thy thanksgivings, that summon'd from far,
The long-parted family home.

Can distance efface, or can time ever dim
Remembrances crowding like these,
That have grown with our growth, and have minister'd strength,
As the roots send up life to the trees?
Then be honor'd the day, when the Mayflower came,
And honor'd the charge that she bore,
The stern, the religious, the glorious men,
Whom she set on our rough native shore.

New England, advance in thine onward career,
With thine inborn, all conquering will:
Still triumph o'er Nature's unkindliest forms
By thine *energy*, *patience*, and *skill*.
Thou shalt grow to thy height as thou ever hast grown,
O'er the storms of ephemeral strife,
And thy spirit, undying, shall cease not to be
The deep germ of a Continent's life.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

The following is a list of the merchant adventurers of London, whose names were subscribed to the agreement, between them and the Plymouth Colony, dated November 15th, 1626.

John White,	Samuel Sharp,	Thomas Hudson,
John Pocock,	Robert Holland,	Thomas Andrews,
Robert Kean,	James Shirley,	Thomas Ward,
Edward Bass,	Thomas Mott,	Fria Newbald,
William Hobson,	Thomas Fletcher,	Thomas Heath,
William Pennington,	Timothy Hatherly,	Joseph Tilden,
William Quarles,	Thomas Brewer,	William Penrin,
Daniel Pointon,	John Thornell,	Eliza Knight,
Richard Andrews,	Myles Knowles,	Thomas Coventry,
Newman Rooks,	William Collier,	Robert Allden,
Henry Browning,	John Revell,	Lawrence Anthony,
Richard Wright,	Peter Gudburn,	John Knight,
John King,	Emnu Alltham,	Matthew Thornhill,
Thomas Goffe,	John Beauchamp,	Thomas Millsop.

In all forty two.

DESCRIPTION OF WEIR'S PAINTING OF THE EMBARKATION AT LEYDEN.

An obliging correspondent has furnished the following description of Weir's painting of the embarkation.

The scene is laid on the deck of the vessel. Mr Robinson, their pastor, is making the parting prayer just before her departure.

Elder Brewster holds the open Bible; Gov. Carver, Mr. Bradford, with their wives, form the centre group of the picture.

On the right, Miles Standish, the soldier, with his wife Rose, who found an early grave in the new country.

Mr. and Mrs. White, the parents of Peregrine, the first child born in the Colony, on the left.

Beyond the centre group, Mr. Fuller is seen parting from his wife, who remains behind.

Mr. and Mrs. Winslow, a newly married couple, were traveling on the continent at the time Mr. Robinson was preaching in Holland; were so much pleased with him, they joined the company and came out with them.

A boy leaning over the side of the vessel, belonging to Mr. Winslow's family, wears a silver canteen, which bears the initials E. W., now in existence.

Captain Reynolds in the back ground, orders a sailor on board with the cradle in which Peregrine was rocked. His face expressive of double meaning, as it is said he had been bribed not to bring the company out.

The crew which probably saved the vessel, lies in the foreground, with a group of armor, match locks, &c.

Various figures, members of the different families, fill up the picture. Mr. Robinson remained behind.

Spectators on the wharf could not refrain from tears at the 'sad and mournful parting.'

The picture is true to the minutest particular, in costume, and in color, to the 'sad colors' of the time, and taste of the Pilgrims; with some exception for Mrs. Winslow, who being a bride, and of the wealthier class, was dressed accordingly.

The whole picture is true to nature and the character of the scene.

It was on board the Speedwell, and that small vessel held the germ of a republic.

APPENDIX C. Page 82.

The seventh chapter of the foregoing pages having been copied by permission, from an original volume in the Library of Harvard University, some account of it may be acceptable to the reader. This work has always been called Mourt's Relation, and was published in 1622 by John Bellamy of London, and the preface is signed by G. Mourt, which may be found entire, copied by Dr. Young into his Chronicles of the Pilgrims. In the Chronicles, page 113, will also be found the conclusions of Dr. Young respecting the real authors of Mourt's Journal in the following words: 'Who was G. Mourt? From his preface it appears, that he was a person interested in the success of the Plymouth Colony, identifying himself with it, having 'much desired' to embark with the first colonists, and intending soon to go over and join them. It is also evident that he had friendly and intimate relations with some of them, and that he was one in whom they reposed such entire confidence as to send their first despatches of letters and journals. The only individual answering this description that I can ascertain, is George Morton, who had married a sister of Gov. Bradford, and came over to Plymouth in July, 1623, in the first vessel that sailed for the Colony after this journal was printed. He is represented in the Memorial, p. 101, as very faithful in whatever public employment he was betrusted withal, and an unfeigned well wisher and promoter of the common good and growth of the plantation of New Plymouth. Mourt might have been written designedly for Morton, from a disinclination on his part to have his name appear in print, or it may have been a mistake of the printer, the final letters from some flourish of the pen or otherwise, not being distinctly legible. Several other typographical errors, more important than this, occur in the journal.' From a thorough examination of the whole subject, Dr. Young adopts the conclusion, that the letter signed R. G. was from Robert Cushman, and that the journal was written 'by Bradford and Winslow, chiefly by the former.'

APPENDIX D. Page 133.

In 1645. It appears from the Old Colony Records, that Mr. John Beauchamp, one of the merchant adventurers, of London, authorized, by power of attorney, Mr. Edward Freeman, senior, of Sandwich, to settle with the undertakers of the trade, who had mortgaged their estates for security of the company debts. These were Edward Winslow, William Bradford, John Alden, Isaac Allerton, Thomas Prince, and Myles Standish. Under date of 1652, the following statement appears. Account of Beauchamp, houses and lands sold by Edward Freeman, and William Paddy. Mr. Bradford's lands at Sekonke, £12. Mr. Winslow's houses at Plymouth, sold to Mr. Paddy, Plymouth, £26. 10s. Mr. Prence's house at Plymouth, and five acres of land at Second Brook, £32. Mr. Allerton's house, south side of High (now Summer) street, sold to Thomas Willet for £700. Prence's farm at Jones River sold to Willet and Paddy for T. Cushman, who exchanged land at Sowams for it. It was first owned by Allerton, £75. Eleven acres, by John Barnes, which was Allerton's improved by Prence, £12. Alden's and Standish's land at South River, Marshfield, sold to Arthur Howland and Thomas Chillingworth, £46. The amount of Mr. Beauchamp's estate was £353. 1s. 9d. Amount of sales £210. 10s; the loss being £142. 1s. 9d.

The mortgage of the above lands in 1645, to Mr. Beauchamp, by the undertakers, was a mutual and satisfactory adjustment, between the parties concerned, and was doubtless the source of much embarrassment to the planters. In relation to this subject, the remarks of Capt. John Smith, whose romantic early history, both in Europe and Virginia, are so well known, affords a valuable and impartial testimony, to the honorable conduct of our fathers. 'These disasters, losses, and uncertainties, (referring to the first winter's hardships of the Pilgrims,) made such disagreements among the adventurers in England, who began to repent, and rather lose all, than longer continue the charge, being out of purse 6 or 7,000 pounds, accounting my books and their relations as old almanacks. But the planters,

rather than leave the country, concluded absolutely to supply themselves. and to all their adventurers pay them for nine years two hundred pounds yearly, without any further account; where more than six hundred adventurers for *Virginia*, for more than two hundred thousand pounds, had not six pence.'

D, *page* 149.

The population of New England, in 1675, according to the best authorities, was not far from 50,000, and the citizens capable of bearing arms one fifth of that number, or 10,000. On the adjustment of accounts, by the commissioners, between the colonies, after the war had terminated, Plymouth was adjuged to pay £1,000 to Massachusetts. in part for her disbursements beyond her required proportion. From a statement in the appendix of Judge Davis' edition of New England's Memorial, it appears that the towns in the Old Colony expended on account of the war £3,692. 16s. 2d. The whole expense incurred by all the Colonies was estimated at more than 100,000 pounds, exclusive of losses by fire and pillage. Dr. Trumbul in his history observes, respecting the loss of property and life in the contest with Philip, 'that about 600 of the inhabitants of New England, most of whom were the flower and strength of the country, fell in battle or were murdered by the enemy. Twelve or thirteen towns in Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode Island, were utterly destroyed, and others greatly damaged. About 600 buildings, chiefly dwelling houses, were consumed with fire. An almost insuperable debt was contracted by the Colony, when their numbers, dwellings, goods, cattle. and all their resources were greatly diminished.'

APPENDIX F. Page 287.

Cape Cod was discovered by Bartholomew Gosnold, on the 15th of May, 1602, and was visited by Henry Hudson, in Aug., 1609, and by Capt. John Smith in 1614. It was named by Gosnold, from the abundance of codfish taken in its neighborhood. Its harbor is con-

sidered one of the best on the New England coast for vessels of every size. The infamous conduct of Capt. Hunt, (so indignantly condemned by Smith,) in kidnapping 27 of the natives, in 1614, had justly incensed the tribe of Nauset, to which place 5 of them belonged. To this cause their hostile conduct towards the Pilgrims may properly be ascribed, for it appears that afterwards, when explanations were made by the Pilgrims, disclaiming any participation in the conduct of Hunt, friendly relations existed, which were rarely interrupted. Cape Cod, Nantucket and New Bedford, have been distinguished for the nautical skill and enterprise of their citizens, unsurpassed by any equal population in the world, and by our wisest statesmen, have been regarded as the main supports of our naval strength. On this subject, Edmund Burk, in 1774, addressing the House of Commons on American affairs, pronounced an eulogy deserving of grateful remembrance. 'No sea, but what is vexed by their fisheries. No climate, that is not witness of their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried their most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pursued by this recent people; a people who are still in the gristle, and not hardened into manhood.'

The population of Cape Cod is 32,548; Nantucket, 9,012; Dukes county, 3,958; New Bedford, 12,087. Aggregate, 57,605.

Appendix to the History of the First Church. Page 149.

The first volume of the church records embraces the history of the Leyden Church from its earliest date, compiled by Secretary Morton, to the year of the Rev. John Cotton's settlement, 1667. They were then continued by him till his dismission in 1697, and afterwards by Mr. Little, his successor, to the year 1723, and by Mr. Leonard to 1732. The second volume was continued by Mr. Leonard and succeeding pastors to the present time. In the first volume of these records, under the date of 1697, Mr. Cotton records in detail the practice of that time and previously existing respecting the

questions propounded to individuals before their admission as members in full communion with the church.

The following lines are contained in the church records under the date of 1626, being the first poetical composition on record.

A few poems made by a friend on the deplored death of Mr. John Robinson the worthy pastour of the church of Leyden as followeth:

1 Blessed Robinson hath Run his Race
from earth to heaven is Gone,
to be with Christ in heavenly place,
the blessed saints among.

2 A burning and a shining light,
was hee whiles hee was heer
a preacher of the gospel Bright
whom we did love most deer,

3 What tho hees dead his workes alive
and live will to all Aye
The comfort of them pleasant is
To living saints each day

4 Oh blessed holy saviour
the fountain of all grace
from whom such blessed instruments
are sent and Run their Race

5 To lead us to and guide us in
the way to happiness
That soe oh lord we may alwaies
forevermore more confess

6 That whosoever Gospel preacher be
or waterer of the same
wee may always most constantly
Give Glory to thy Name.

The following account of the Rev. Richard Clifton, who was pastor with Mr. Robinson of the church of Leyden, at the time of its earliest establishment in the north of England, is taken from the church records, and was penned by Gov. Bradford in his dialogue, the whole of which document may be found in Dr. Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims.

'Richard Clifton was a grave and fatherly old man when he came first into Holland, having a great white beard: and pity it was that such a reverend old man should be forced to leave his country and at those years to go into exile. But it was his lot; and he bore it patiently. Much good had he done in the country where he lived, and converted many to God by his faithful and painful ministry, both in preaching and catechising. Sound and orthodox he always was, and so continued to his end. He belonged to the church at Leyden; but being settled at Amsterdam, and thus aged, he was loath to remove any more; and so when they removed, he was dismissed to them there, and there remained until he died. Thus have we briefly satisfied your desire.'

The following extract is from the church records. 'In January 1669. The church agreed to begin monthly church meetings for conference, which were constantly attended for many years, and much good attended that exercise. Also in November began the catechising of the children by the Pastor (the Elder also accompanying him therein constantly) once a fortnight, the males at one time and the females at the other. The cathechism there used was Mr. Perkin's.' In this ancient practice of pilgrim times, we may perhaps discern the origin of our present Sunday school institutions. The improvements of modern times consist in bringing into active service the laymen, as well as pastors and officers of the church, by which means large numbers of children, arranged in separate classes, may be more thoroughly instructed, while those who act as teachers become intelligent expositors of the scriptures, and efficient advocates of christianity in our land.

In connection with the Ecclesiastical history of the First church of Plymouth, a fit occasion seems presented to offer some brief remarks in relation to the views expressed by Mr. Sumner respect-

ing the farewell discourse of Robinson to that part of the Leyden church which was about to embark from Delfthaven to America. This discourse was preserved in its essential features by Winslow in his brief narration published in the year 1646; and no one before Mr. Sumner known to the writer, has attempted to discredit his authority. Mr. Sumner thus expresses his doubts: The original authority for this statement (the statement respecting attentions shown at the grave of Robinson) would appear to be Winslow; who was not however in Holland at the time of Robinson's death, but in Plymouth, and who could only speak from hearsay. For a point of greater importance than this, it might be well to enquire how far a book written under the circumstances of the *Brief Narration* — an advocate defending his client — may be safely relied upon as historical authority;' — and again Mr. Sumner doubtingly enquires, 'Was that sermon ever preached by Robinson? The only authority which can be found for it is Winslow; and he gives in an informal manner, twenty-six years after the time when the discourse was supposed to have been pronounced, that which forms the ground-work of the sermon of Mather, Neal and others.' Winslow after stating his object in reply to Gorton, says among other remarks, 'Whereunto is added a Brief Narration (occasioned by certain aspersions) of the true grounds or cause of the planting of New England.' Now is it not an unwarrantable assumption, that because Winslow was agent of the Massachusetts Colony, his statements respecting the Leyden church and Robinson's discourse are not to be trusted? The utmost fidelity to his trust as agent of Massachusetts required no misstatements respecting a matter having no necessary connection with that trust; and as to the 'informal manner,' of which Mr. Sumner speaks, it is quite difficult to perceive why it is so denominated. Gov. Bradford relates in a more general manner than Winslow the account of Robinson's farewell address, and says, 'he (Robinson) spent a good part of the day very profitably and suitably, to their present occasion.' Thus far no discrepancy is perceptible between the respective authorities of Winslow and Bradford. There seems no just ground to doubt, that both Winslow and Bradford allude to the same interesting

occasion, and the text, though probably from Ezra the 8th 21st, is but of secondary importance. The sentiments of the discourse as preserved by Winslow in which Robinson used these 'expressions or words to the same purpose,' have justly been regarded as highly to his honor, and far beyond the narrow bigotry of the age in which they were advanced. Winslow while agent for Massachusetts was highly esteemed by the prevailing power in England, and no temptation existed sufficient to induce a departure from truth in his statements; and if such temptation had existed, no one would have been more prompt to resist its influence. Mr. Sumner in a note to his Memoirs, page —, appears to doubt the authority of Gov. Bradford's statement respecting the reasons which induced Robinson's church to remove from Amsterdam to Leyden. Gov. Bradford says 'their removal was occasioned principally by the fear of some contentions existing in another English church at Amsterdam,' which things they prudently foreseeing, thought it was best to remove before they were any way engaged with the same; though they well knew it would be much to the prejudice of their outward estate, both at present, and, in likelihood, in the future, as indeed it proved to be.' To which Mr. Sumner thus replies: 'This may be so; yet Leyden was the principal manufacturing town of the Netherlands, and one of the most important in Europe.' Why should not Gov. Bradford, well acquainted as he was with the church, have been perfectly competent to decide a question of this kind, as to which of two cities was best adapted to their various capacities for business? If some of the pilgrims were weavers, most of them had been accustomed to agricultural pursuits, and for variety of occupation, a flourishing commercial city like that of Amsterdam, at the period in question, would have seemed the more eligible. It so appeared to Gov. Bradford and his brethren of the church, who certainly could have had no conceivable motive for stating anything but facts, in relation to this matter. It is reasonable to conclude' therefore, that he was at that time a far better judge of this affair than one could expect to find, after the lapse of more than two centuries. The indefatigable labors of Mr. Sumner have been the subject of just commendation; and these remarks are not made

without a high appreciation of the services he has contributed to the cause of historical research, in a quarter where uncommon energy and perseverance alone, could have ensured any tolerable degree of success.

It has been suggested to the writer by an antiquarian friend, whose attention has recently been directed to enquiry on the subject, that an error probably exists, in the Old Colony Records, respecting the name of Mannasseh Faunce, as found in the Division of lands among the passengers of the ship Ann in 1623; and that this name should have been written Manasseh Kempton. This opinion is sustained by the fact, that the name of Manasseh Faunce nowhere appears afterwards, either in the town or colony records, while that of Manasseh Kempton often occurs in both, as appointed to execute many important public trusts, and also in the division of cattle in 1627. He died January 14th, 1662–3, and the following brief remark appears in the entry of his death on the records: 'He did much good in his place the time God lent him.' His wife Julian died Feb. 19th, 1764–5, aged 81 years, and the brief remark is added in Secretary Morton's hand, 'She was a faithful servant of God.'

The following extract will show the origin of reading the hymn sung at anniversary celebrations, line by line. 'And here it will be proper to observe, that it was their practice from the beginning till Oct. 1681, to sing the Psalms without reading the line; but then at the motion of a brother who otherwise could not join in the service, (I suppose he could not read,) they altered the custom and reading was introduced; the elder performing that service, after the pastor had first expounded the psalm, which were usually sung in course, so that the people had the benefit of hearing the whole book of Psalms expounded.

CAPTAINS HILL.

This beautiful mount is situated in the southeasterly part of Duxbury, and was at an early period assigned, with land adjacent, to Myles Standish, the intrepid military leader of the Pilgrims. Its summit, in a gradual ascent, is about 400 yards from the water, and about 180 feet above the ocean, by which it is washed, on its west, south, and easterly sides. It affords an extensive and delightful view of the surrounding country, the harbor, Bay of Cape Cod, and Manomet. The dwelling house and spring of Standish were on the southerly part of the mount and but a short distance from the water. The house was burnt, as we have learned from good authority, while occupied by Alexander, the oldest son of Capt. Standish. In a communication from Lewis Bradford, Esq. the aged and venerrable Town Clerk of Plympton, he observes, 'I have found that Alexander Standish was Town Clerk and also a deacon of the Church in Duxbury, and that he lived in the house where his father lived, which was burnt and the Town Records of Duxbury up to that time burnt in it.' The ruins of this house still remain, and frequently attract antiquarian curiosity. Implements of household use, and parcels of corn partially scorched by fire, found in these ruins, have been deemed as trophies amply rewarding the labor expended in procuring them.

The following statement from the Records may be interesting to the descendants of Capt. Standish, now engaged in ascertaining the heirship to property supposed to have descended from the Standish family in England. The will of Capt. Miles Standish is dated March 7, 1665, and the following clause relates to property in England. 'I give unto my son and heir apparent Alexander Standish all my lands as heir apparent by lawful descent in Ormistic Bousconge Wrightington Maudsley Newburrow Cranston and in the Isle of Man and given to mee as right heire by lawful descent, but surreptitiously detained from mee my great grandfather being a second or younger brother from the house of Standish of Standish.' It appears that Miles, the oldest son of Alexander, inherited the home-

stead at Duxbury, and died there, leaving a will, dated Aug. 31, 1739, in which he gives his homestead, 120 acres, to Miles, his son, his wife Experience to have half the income, and legacies to the following named daughters: Sarah, wife of Abner Weston, Patience, wife of Caleb Jenney, Priscilla and Penelope Standish. Penelope died in 1740. Miles Standish, above named, lived in Duxbury, and July 3, 1763, by deed, in which his wife Mehitabel joined, sold his remaining homestead to Samuel and Sylvanus Drew, who about the same time sold it to Wait Wadsworth. He probably soon moved to Bridgewater, and July 1, 1765, purchased a farm (at Teluat,) costing £253 6*s.* 8*d.*, of Elijah Leach. He sold, his wife Mehetable joining in the deed, to his son Miles the same farm April 28, 1779. Judge Mitchell states that he died in 1785, aged 80, and that his son removed to Pennsylvania, and that he also had a son Miles, from all which it seems probable that the son of the last named Miles is the rightful heir to the Standish property in England, if any such there be.

ERRATA.

The following errors have been detected in the preceding work, most of which have been occasioned by indispensable engagements, not anticipated when the work was commenced, rendering it impossible to give it so careful a revisal as otherwise it would have received.

The date on page 45, should read *Dec. 22d*, 1843, instead of *Dec. 22d*, 1824.

The word *ile*, on page 76, should read *isle*.

The word *Eanacum*, on page 108, should read *Canacum*.

The words 2 *hhds. of beam clapboards aad sasafras*, should read 2 *hhds. beaver, clapboards and sasafras*.

The dates in note, on page 151, should be 1621, &c., instead of 1821.

The word *eighteen*, eleventh line from the top of page 181, should read *eight*.

In the Airs, over Clark's Island, *Hersey B. Goodwin*, instead of *Henry B. Goodwin*.

Date on second line from top of page 144, the date should be 1625.

On page 261, 13th line, the words, *and one half mile in length*, should read *one and a half mile in length*.

On page 271, *N. N. West*, should read *North by East*.

On page 273, the word *faded*, should read *failed*.

On page 279, 6th line from top, the words *town* house should read *Court* house.

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